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MARIA ANTONIETTA

OF AUSTRIA,

Queen of France.

Published Feb.y 1797 by Cadell & Davies, Strand.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS

RELATIVE TO THE

LAST YEAR OF THE REIGN

OF

LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH,

LATE KING OF FRANCE.

By ANT. FR. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,
MINISTER OF STATE AT THAT TIME.

Tranſlated from the Original Manuſcript of the Author, which has never been publiſhed.

WITH FIVE PORTRAITS, FROM ORIGINAL PICTURES,
OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE.

——— *quæque ipſe miſerrima vidi*
Et quorum pars ———

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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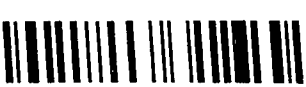
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Singular converſation with Linguet.—His propoſal of ſending M. Duchilleau to St. Domingo.—Conditions propoſed by Madame Duchilleau.—Linguet's denunciation againſt me in the aſſembly.—Senſibility of the king.—Proof of his fidelity to the conſtitution.—M. de Narbonne.—Characteriſtic traits reſpecting the king.

THE applauſe which my diſcourſe on the diſaſters of St. Domingo obtained in the aſſembly did not prevent its diſpleaſing the partiſans of the liberty of the blacks, particularly Briſſot and Condorcet, whoſe opinions, without naming the men, I had refuted in ſuch a manner as to

make their abſurdity evident to the majority of the aſſembly. This was a ſlight revenge for the ſarcaſms which daily appeared againſt me in both their Journals: but I irritated my accuſers ſtill more, by the obſervation which terminated my diſcourſe, which was an attack ſo direct, as to fix all eyes upon them.

The day after I had pronounced that diſcourſe, which had in ſome degree re-eſtabliſhed my credit, a perſon, who would not tell his name, demanded a ſhort audience of me, "to communicate things of the utmoſt importance." As my preſent ſituation exacted of me to be upon my guard againſt ſuch viſits, I did not chooſe to receive him in my cloſet, and I went into my ſaloon, that I might be nearer the antichamber where my domeſtics were. I found a little man, ill dreſſed, and of no very agreeable countenance. Advancing towards him, "Is it you, ſir," ſaid I, "who had things of importance to communicate to me?"

"Yes, ſir, it is me."

"Well,

"Well, upon what ſubject?" ſaid I.

"To render you the greateſt poſſible ſervice," returned he; "for you will ſurely conſider as ſuch my indicating to you the only means of re-eſtabliſhing good order and peace in St. Domingo?"

"Yes, certainly," ſaid I.

"Well, ſir, I bring you theſe means," returned he.

"If they are as certain as you ſay—"

"*If* they are as certain!" continued he. "Do you think that if they were not, I would have quitted my country reſidence to come and loſe my time here, in converſation with you, and make you loſe your's alſo? Yes, ſir, the means I have to propoſe are certain, and very certain. I do not pretend to inform you, ſir," continued he, "that it is to the weakneſs of M. Blanchelande that all the evil is to be attributed. You would not, perhaps, acknowledge this, becauſe you are a miniſter, conſequently may think yourſelf entitled to diſſemble, and to hold a language contrary

to your real ſentiments: but it is ſufficient for me that I know what muſt be your opinion of M. Blanchelande. I am convinced, that if you could at this moment lay your hands upon a man of a ſuperior character," added he, with exultation, "one already known at St. Domingo, for his energy, his firmneſs, and his juſtice, generally eſteemed, reſpected, and feared by the blacks, the whites, and men of all colours, capable of overawing by his preſence alone; if you knew of ſuch a man, I repeat it, would you not be happy to be enabled to ſend him immediately to that iſland? Well, ſir, it is this very man whom I come to offer you. I do not mean myſelf, but my ſecond ſelf, M. Duchilleau, my intimate friend. He is at this moment about a hundred leagues from Paris, and certainly has no idea that I am ſpeaking to you of him. I have not yet wrote to him upon the ſubject. Your diſcourſe in the aſſembly yeſterday ſuggeſted the idea. I am even not very certain that he would accept the ſituation,

tion, unleſs I uſe all my influence to determine him, and alſo promiſe to accompany him."

My aſtoniſhment prevented my interrupting the man's volubility. At laſt, having a little recovered myſelf, I aſked him, "Pray, ſir, in what quality do you propoſe to accompany M. Duchilleau? As his aid-de-camp?"

"His aid-de-camp!" replied he. "You may ſee, ſir, that I am neither of an age, nor have I the appearance, ſurely, of an aid-de-camp. Beſides, it is not my line. But here is the point: Duchilleau, who is perhaps the beſt governor for the colonies that we have had for a long time, perfectly underſtands all which concerns the military department: but he underſtands nothing of the civil adminiſtration; and it is that which I ſhall take upon myſelf."

"Very well," ſaid I, ſmiling; "but it is neceſſary that I ſhould know your name."

"For what purpoſe? Is not my propoſal good enough for my name to be diſpenſed with?"

"I do not ſay the contrary," reſumed I: "but do you think that I can propoſe to the king to ſend an anonymous perſon to the intendance of St. Domingo?"

"Well, ſir, my name is Linguet."

"O, M. Linguet, I am very happy to ſee you."

"But, my propoſal," reſumed he: "what think you of it? You ſeem to laugh."

"That does not prevent me," anſwered I, "from giving it juſt weight. I promiſe you to lay it before the king, who knows M. Duchilleau a great deal better than I do."

"But if you laugh," ſaid he, "when you mention it to the king, he will laugh alſo; and *your* affair will fail. I call it *your* affair, and not M. Duchilleau's and mine, for on our part it is a ſacrifice."

I wiſhed him good morning, and aſſured him that I would ſpeak to the king with all the ſerioufneſs that the caſe required.

I received, the ſame day, a note from Madame Duchilleau, requeſting a rendezvous for next day, which I gave her. I

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed that Linguet had given her an account of our converſation, and that what ſhe had to ſay was in conſequence of it. She was very exact in coming at the hour I had appointed. She told me that ſhe was informed of her huſband's having been thought of for the government of St. Domingo; and as he was not then in Paris, ſhe came, in his name, to talk with me upon the ſubject, knowing perfectly well the only conditions on which he would accept of that ſituation. I anſwered, "that I did not know of M. Duchilleau's having been thought of for the government of St. Domingo; that it was true Linguet had mentioned it to me the preceding morning, but that the king had never ſaid a word upon the ſubject. However, (I added,) as his majeſty may poſſibly have an eye to M. Duchilleau, ſhe might, if ſhe pleaſed, inform me of the conditions upon which he would accept of it." She then drew out of her pocket a memorandum of four pages, which ſhe read, and left with me. The principal conditions were, Firſt, The payment of debts contracted by M.

Duchilleau, in conſequence of the loſſes he had ſuſtained by being ſuddenly diſmiſſed from that government. Theſe were eſtimated at 300,000 livres. Secondly, The expence of his voyage and eſtabliſhment, 200,000. Thirdly, Annual ſalary as governor, 300,000. Fourthly, The *cordon rouge*. Fifthly, The power of changing and replacing all civil and military officers. Sixthly, *Carte blanche* with regard to his manner of conducting his adminiſtration, &c. &c.

However valuable the ſervices of M. Duchilleau might be, the new regulations did not permit their being purchaſed at the high price that his wife ſet upon them; and ſhe aſſured me that ſhe poſitively would not make the leaſt abatement in her demands. Therefore the account I gave of theſe conditions to the council ſerved only to ſhew the high opinion ſhe entertained of her huſband's merit, againſt which I am far from raiſing any doubt. I was not acquainted with M. Duchilleau; was but imperfectly informed of the ſituation in which the iſland was, when he was at St. Domingo;

Domingo; and I was entirely ignorant of the motives of his recall.

Linguet was enraged at the bad ſucceſs of his propoſals, and endeavoured to revenge himſelf, by taking upon him to bring forward a moſt indecent and ridiculous accuſation againſt me in the aſſembly. Two of the keepers of the magazines at Trincomale in the Eaſt Indies, having been convicted of embezzlement to the value of more than a million of livres, were ordered to be arreſted, and ſent for trial to France. The documents relating to this affair had been tranſmitted to the miniſter of the marine; and there was a paper amongſt them, written and ſigned by both of the accuſed, in which they confeſſed that they were guilty of embezzlement to a certain extent, but that the value of the effects which they had embezzled did not amount to more than 300,000 livres. Theſe two men, whoſe names were Labadie and Gallet, on their arrival in France, had been lodged in the priſon at Breſt, at the beginning of the revolution; and the more important affairs with which the

the miniſters were at that time occupied had, very fortunately for the criminals, prevented the proſecution of their trial. As they were convinced that they could not eſcape a capital condemnation, they took care not to complain of the ſlowneſs of the proceedings. Upon the ſuppreſſion of the ancient courts of juſtice, and the eſtabliſhment of new judges, this affair was carried before the tribunal of the diſtrict of Quimper. By means of money and intrigue the priſoners contrived to bring on their trials in 1791, without the knowledge of government; conſequently the papers which were in my office, relative to this affair, were not produced againſt them; and the court, finding no proof of their guilt, entirely acquitted them.

The priſoners being thus ſet at liberty, kept themſelves very quiet, and never ſought to take advantage of their acquittal until the aſſembly took under their protection about twenty ſeditious fellows, whom M. de Freſné, governor of Pondicherry, had ſent back to France. A decree

was pronounced in juſtification of thoſe twenty perſons, attributing their conduct to the zeal of patriotiſm; and an order was given that they might be tranſmitted back to India at the public expence.

The keepers of the magazine of Trincomale imagined that this decree might poſſibly include them, and came to me, repreſenting themſelves as victims of deſpotiſm; and not only demanded to participate in the benefits of the decree, but alſo claimed the ſum of 150,000 livres, as an indemnification for their long and unjuſt detention. The firſt time they came to my levee, to preſent their memorial, I was ignorant of the buſineſs: but I told them, "that I could not take upon me to comprehend them in the decree, as the perſons in whoſe favour it was iſſued were particularly named; and that there were no ſuch names as Labadie or Gallet in the liſt. That with reſpect to the indemnification they claimed, I would examine their right to it, and do them juſtice."

They

They returned in about a week after; and though they had been informed, in my office, that the papers containing the proofs againſt them were under my examination, they had the effrontery ſtill to claim an indemnification.

"Are you in your ſenſes?" ſaid I, with indignation, and loud enough to be heard by all the people who had come to my levee.

"Yes, ſir," ſaid they, rather embarraſſed by my queſtion.

"And do you imagine," reſumed I, "that I am ſo little in poſſeſſion of mine, as to grant fifty thouſand crowns of indemnification to people who have only been done injuſtice to in not having been hanged according to their deſerts?"

"How, ſir! Were we not acquitted?"

"You were ſo," replied I, "but only becauſe the papers of which I am in poſſeſſion, containing the proofs againſt you, were not produced. But here they are; and you may depend upon it I ſhall order the matter to be reviſed, and we ſhall then

ſee

ſee what is due to you for having ſtole from government, according to your own confeſſion, to the amount of 300,000 livres."

This ſpeech rather confounded them. They retired, threatening to complain to the aſſembly of my miniſterial deſpotiſm, of my harſhneſs, &c. The firſt ſtep they took was to conſult Linguet, who, with the utmoſt alacrity, undertook their defence. He prepared a long diſcourſe, in the form of a petition, which was announced to the aſſembly as a capital accuſation againſt me. This was ſufficient to obtain him permiſſion to ſpeak as ſoon as he preſented himſelf at the bar, and to gain him the ſupport of all my enemies in the aſſembly.

Having fixed, with Linguet, on the day on which he was to bring his accuſation, they adviſed him not to appear until the evening meeting, becauſe it was generally leſs punctually attended than thoſe of the morning; and it would therefore be eaſier to bring a majority. According to this arrangement, Linguet appeared in the aſ-

ſembly

ſembly at the evening ſitting, and took his place at the bar betwixt his two clients. Having obtained permiſſion to ſpeak, he began his diſcourſe with a very long and circumſtantial account of our firſt ſettlements in India. He enlarged, with great emphaſis and geſticulation, upon the vices of their adminiſtration, upon the incapacity and deſpotiſm of the agents of government, &c. The aſſembly ſhewed ſymptoms of impatience at an harangue ſo little to the point. Linguet continued, without mercy. At laſt, they were ſo worn out, that they uttered deep groans; ſome yawned aloud; one called out, "*au deluge avocat**!" others, "to the point; for heaven's ſake, to the point." Linguet, irritated at this inſult, only anſwered by looks of indignation, which he darted on all ſides againſt the exclaimers. The preſident's bell at laſt reeſtabliſhed ſilence, and Linguet again took up the thread of his diſcourſe; but at ſo early a period of our ſettlement, that the

* Vide *Les Plaideurs*, a comedy of Racine.

patience

patience of the members being exhauſted, the cry "*au deluge avocat! au deluge!*" was renewed with ſuch vehemence, that the preſident thought proper to requeſt of M. Linguet to adhere to the matter contained in his petition.

"I know better than any one," anſwered M. Linguet, with a very ſtately air, "upon what the intereſt of my clients exacts that I ſhould ſpeak, and on what I ought to be ſilent. You ſhall hear all or nothing."

"Nothing, nothing, nothing," was echoed from all ſides. It was evident that the nothings had it. The preſident granted to the petitioners the honours of the *ſeance*, and told them to leave their petition at the bar.

"No, M. le Preſident," anſwered Linguet, in rage; "I ſhall carry off my diſcourſe, ſince the aſſembly will not liſten to it; and as for the honours of the ſitting, I thank you, but I have ſomething elſe to do."

Saying this, he retreated in a fury, tearing his papers to pieces, to the great mirth of the audience.

When

When I came to the council, I was informed of every circumſtance of this ſcene, which I related to the king, who was the more pleaſed with the ludicrous cataſtrophe, becauſe he had been apprehenſive of ſome troubleſome conſequence to me from this manœuvre.

In this ſame council we were witneſſes to a ſcene of a very different nature, much too intereſting to be paſſed over in ſilence. M. Cahier de Gerville read aloud the ſketch or rough draught of a proclamation he propoſed, relative to the aſſaſſination, pillaging, and other acts of violence, at that time very frequent; particularly againſt the nobility, on the pretext of ariſtocracy, &c. In the propoſed proclamation was the following ſentence, "*Thoſe diſorders interrupt the happineſs we at preſent enjoy.*" He had no ſooner pronounced it than the king ſaid, "That ſentence muſt be altered."

M. de Gerville having read the expreſſion again, replied, "I perceive nothing that requires to be altered, ſire."

"Do

"Do not make me ſpeak of my happineſs," reſumed his majeſty, with emotion. "I cannot authorize ſuch a falſehood. How can I be happy, M. de Gerville, at a time when nobody is happy in France? No, ſir, the French are *not* happy: I ſee it but too well. They will be ſo, I hope; and I wiſh it very ardently. When that time arrives, I alſo ſhall be happy, and ſhall then be able, with truth, to declare it."

Theſe words, which the king uttered with a faultering voice, made a lively impreſſion upon us, and was followed by a general ſilence, which prevailed ſome minutes. His majeſty being apprehenſive that thoſe marks of ſenſibility, which he had not been able to repreſs, would raiſe a ſuſpicion againſt his attachment to the conſtitution, ſeized an opportunity, which M. de Gerville afforded him a few minutes after, of ſhowing that he was determined to adhere very ſcrupulouſly to his engagements in ſupport of it; for in an affair reported by M. de Gerville, he pronounced

an opinion more ſtrictly conformable to the letter of the conſtitution than that of the miniſter himſelf. The particulars of this I need not give at preſent, as they muſt appear hereafter, in the account of my adminiſtration which I laid before the aſſembly, upon my diſmiſſion.

As M. de Gerville was more enthuſiaſtically fond of the conſtitution than any one of the council, he was confounded and rather abaſhed to find that the king was inclined to adhere to it more ſcrupulouſly than himſelf.

The ſolemnity of this meeting was ſomewhat interrupted by a little incident, of which I ſhould have taken no notice, had it not been for the pleaſantry or *jeu de mots* it occaſioned from M. de Narbonne.

While the king was raiſing himſelf from his chair, and reaching acroſs the table for a pen, a noiſe of an equivocal nature, probably proceeding from the movement of the chair, was ſo diſtinctly heard as to diſconcert a little every perſon preſent, who, after ſtaring, with an air of ſurprize, in one another's

another's faces, as if they had meant to plead *not guilty*, reſumed the conſideration of the buſineſs before them. The council being over, the miniſters went to the room in the palace appointed for their committees. The feeling manner in which the king had expreſſed his own unhappineſs, and his concern for that of the nation, had made ſo deep an impreſſion, that we could ſpeak of nothing but of his virtues. M. de Narbonne, ſpeaking in his turn, ſaid, with the moſt ſerious air imaginable, "Gentlemen, I partake very ſincerely your reſpect and admiration of the king's good qualities: but nevertheleſs, as we are not the only perſons his majeſty conſults, it will be prudent in us to be on our guard, more eſpecially after what we have juſt heard in the council; and reflecting on the whole with coolneſs, it may naturally be ſuſpected that the king is more ready than ever *de nous peter dans le main* *.

* A common French phraſe, uſed when a perſon wiſhes to deceive you, or eſcape from you; but the double meaning is entirely loſt in the tranſlation.

This excited ſo much mirth in the committee, that it was impoſſible to think of any buſineſs that day.

It was a remarkable feature in the king's character, which particularly ſhowed the turn of his mind, that his natural timidity, and the difficulty he found in expreſſing his ideas, never appeared when religion, the relief of the people, or the happineſs of France, were in queſtion. Upon theſe occaſions he always delivered himſelf with an energy and facility which never failed to aſtoniſh the new miniſters, who were prepoſſeſſed with the prevailing opinion of the king's narrow capacity. I do not pretend to aſſert that Lewis the Sixteenth was a great genius; but of this I am certain, that his natural capacity was very far above mediocrity; and that had it been cultivated by an education well calculated for his future rank in life, he would have been claſſed among the beſt and ableſt of our kings. We had daily opportunities of ſeeing him give what has been generally conſidered as proofs of an active and comprehenſive mind.

mind. While he was reading letters, or memorials, or newſpapers, he could, at the ſame time, attend to the diſcuſſions of the council with ſuch diſtinctneſs and diſcrimination as enabled him to underſtand the whole; as afterwards appeared, by the account he gave of what he read and had heard. A ſtriking inſtance of this occurred one day, on which he had read ſeveral memorials, and letters, and journals, while the miniſters were making reports on the affairs of their departments, and particularly while M. Cahier de Gerville made one, on a queſtion of ſome delicacy, after which the deciſion was poſtponed for eight days: but when that miniſter, in making his ſecond report, happened to omit an eſſential circumſtance which had been in the firſt, the king directly put him in mind of it, to the aſtoniſhment of us all, who had believed that he had been too much occupied with the memorials and letters, becauſe he had, at the time, made pertinent obſervations on them. What is certain is, that none of us could contend with the king in point of

memory; and his judgment was no leſs excellent.

This I can affirm with truth, that during all the time that I was in adminiſtration, every paper of importance, of whatever kind, that was ſubmitted to the king's examination, after it had been diſcuſſed in the council, was improved by the alterations his majeſty ſuggeſted.

CHAP. XVI.

Meaſures taken by the miniſters to gain over the principal Journaliſts of Paris.—M. de Narbonne takes upon him to treat with Briſſot and Condorcet.—Conſequences of this negotiation.——Atrocious imputations againſt the king by Briſſot, in the paper of the 28th of January.—I denounce this paper in the council, and propoſe that the author ſhould be proſecuted by the Accuſateur Public.—*The other miniſters think it is better to deſpiſe this inſult.—I write to the king upon this ſubject.—Appearance of rupture with Algiers.—Rapid ſucceſs of the meaſures employed upon this occaſion.—Remarkable offer of the Dey to the King.—Secret meſſage of Tippoo Saib.—His preſents.—A converſation with the queen.*

THE great influence which the Journals had on the public opinion made the miniſters think it of importance to inſure

their ſilence, if they could not acquire their praiſe. This queſtion was thoroughly diſcuſſed in a committee of miniſters, which was held at M. Cahier de Gerville's. M. de Narbonne took it upon him to negotiate with Briſſot, author of the paper intitled *Le Patriote François*, and with Condorcet, author of *La Chronique de Paris*. The reſult of this negotiation was, that the two Journaliſts praiſed M. de Narbonne, and attacked M. de Leſſart and me with more virulence than ever. We remarked this to M. de Narbonne, who anſwered, that he had expreſſed his diſpleaſure at their conduct, and that they daily gave him the moſt poſitive aſſurances that they would change their ſtyle; and he promiſed to ſpeak to them again. He did ſo, without doubt, but with ſo little effect, that Briſſot, not contented with attacking the miniſters in whom the king placed the greateſt confidence, even puſhed his audacity the length of publiſhing the moſt atrocious calumnies againſt his majeſty, in his paper of the 28th of January. I denounced this

paper

paper in the council, as an attempt of a criminal nature, which deſerved exemplary puniſhment: but the more antient miniſters, and the king himſelf, accuſtomed to deſpiſe pamphlets, put leſs importance upon it. They did not reflect, that although in times of tranquillity, and under a well-regulated government, the inſolence of a journaliſt may be ſafely deſpiſed, yet in the preſent ſituation of France, ſuch an incendiary publication kept up the ferment that already exiſted in the minds of the populace, and tended to excite them to inſurrection, pillage, and murder; and the mode ſo long adopted, of deſpiſing the inſults of the journaliſts, only rendered them more dangerous; and ſo multiplied them, that their puniſhment became impoſſible. I added, that with regard to his majeſty, if he perſevered in thinking it beneath his dignity to take any notice of ſuch calumnies, I had nothing more to ſay: but as for myſelf, although I was willing, while the journaliſts confined themſelves to general abuſe, to overlook and deſpiſe it, yet when particular

cular and ſpecific facts were mentioned, if my rank as miniſter prevented me from the right of diſproving them, I ſhould deſire leave of the king to reſign my ſituation, and ſubmit the caſe to a court of juſtice, that the falſehood of the accuſations might be made manifeſt. The miniſters admitted the force of this reaſoning with reſpect to me, but ſaid it could not be applied to attacks made on the king, becauſe the conſtitution was completely ſilent as to any method of proceeding againſt journaliſts who ſhould venture to publiſh calumnies againſt him.

"No expreſs law," anſwered I, "exiſted in ancient Rome againſt the crime of parricide, becauſe it had not entered into the mind of the legiſlature that ſuch a crime would be committed: but aſſuredly it was never meant by the Romans, that a ſon who murdered his father ſhould paſs unpuniſhed. In my opinion, the ſilence of the conſtitution on the crime of calumniating the king, cannot be thought more favourable to Briſſot."

Nevertheleſs, upon account of the delicate circumſtances in which the king was placed, it was thought prudent to deliberate upon the moſt proper manner of managing this affair, and therefore the miniſters agreed to take it into conſideration at a future meeting.

The king was endowed with a very juſt judgment, but unhappily of ſo timid a diſpoſition, and ſo diſtruſtful of himſelf, that he was apt to prefer the opinions of weaker people to his own, and always adopted that of the majority of his council: but as I had more confidence in the king's judgment than in that of my colleagues, I never propoſed any thing of importance, either in a committee of the miniſters, or in council, without having firſt ſubmitted it to his majeſty's examination. This I did upon the preſent occaſion, as appears from the ſubſequent letter, which I wrote the following day to his majeſty.

"January 31, 1792.

"I have the honour to ſubmit to your majeſty the contents of a letter to the national

national aſſembly, reſpecting the execrable paper the *Patriote*, which appeared on Sunday.

"After mature conſideration on the moſt proper ſteps to be taken, I am of opinion, that a denunciation made to the *Accuſateur Public* by the miniſters, either as agents of the executive power, or as citizens, might equally be conſidered as irregular, becauſe the manner of proceeding is not clearly indicated in the conſtitution: but it evidently lays the king under the obligation of employing the power delegated to him for the maintenance of the conſtitution, and in ſupport of the laws. This obligation comprehends that of making the conſtituted powers be reſpected, and of requiring the execution of the ſeventeenth article of the fifth chapter of the conſtitution. This article neceſſarily applies to the offence committed by the author and printer of the paper intitled *Le Patriote François*; the king then may order the *Accuſateur Public* to give them up to juſtice. It may even be maintained, with reaſon, that his majeſty's oath

oath to the conſtitution imports that very obligation; and as the motives which determine ſuch a ſtep are of conſiderable importance, it would be proper for the king to inform the aſſembly, by a letter expreſſed in ſuch a manner as would make a favourable impreſſion. I preſume that the letter, a copy of which I have the honour to tranſmit to your majeſty, will anſwer the purpoſe. Your majeſty will pleaſe to let me know whether it has your approbation: if it has, I ſhall lay it this evening before the committee."

His majeſty ſent me the following anſwer:

"Your advice ſeems to me good; and the letter alſo, excepting ſome words, which muſt be changed. But as this affair, which appears to me of a delicate nature, is not in your department, and as the order and the letter which you propoſe muſt be counterſigned by the miniſter of juſtice, I ſhall wait the determination of the committee *."

In

* "Votre avis me paroit bon; et la lettre auſſi, ſauf quelques mots à changer. Mais comme cette affaire, que je trouve délicate,

In this committee the miniſters agreed that the form which I propoſed was not contrary to the conſtitution; but they thought that ſo ſtrong a meaſure would be the means of informing France, and all Europe, of a fact now known only to Briſſot's ſubſcribers, and would give a kind of celebrity to that journaliſt. This was poſſible; but it was much more certain, that entirely overlooking his conduct would render him more audacious, and encourage others to imitate his example. This happened accordingly; for from that period the king was inſulted in the moſt revolting manner, by innumerable pamphlets, of which the people became the echo, and, by degrees, were emboldened to that degree, that crowds aſſembled under the windows of the Thuilleries almoſt every evening, and poured forth the groſſeſt abuſe againſt the king and royal family.

cate, n'eſt pas de votre département, et que l'ordre et la lettre que vous propoſés doivent être contreſignés par le miniſtre de la juſtice, j'attendrai le reſultat du comité."

At this period France was menaced with a rupture with the regency of Algiers. All the French who happened to be there were conveyed back to Marſeilles; and by the ſame tranſport, an order was ſent to the Algerines to quit France immediately. The French conſul at Algiers was confined to his houſe by the Dey's orders, and expected every moment to be conducted to the gallies. The motive of this rupture was the pretended negligence of France, in fulfilling a promiſe which had been made to the Dey, of lending him a frigate for the purpoſe of tranſporting his ambaſſador to Conſtantinople. Some agents of the court of Spain had excited this ſtorm at Algiers. They perſuaded the Dey that the French revolution having annihilated the king's authority, it was no longer in his power to fulfil his engagements; that the aſſembly, which reigned in his place, reſpected none; that the regency would have no ſuch proceedings to apprehend on the part of the court of Spain; and in order to convince the Dey, he was offered, in the name of his Catholic

Catholic majeſty, a very fine Spaniſh frigate and a corvette, which had juſt then arrived at Algiers, with which he might, if he pleaſed, convey his ambaſſador to Conſtantinople; and in the mean time they begged that he would accept of a corvette as a preſent. Theſe offers, which the Dey readily accepted, determined him to break openly with France, imagining that he could brave its reſentment with impunity *.

I was informed of theſe circumſtances by a courier extraordinary, ſent by the African Company of Marſeilles, who were greatly alarmed. I gave an account of them to the aſſembly, as alſo the amicable means adopted by the king to obtain ſatisfaction, and the vigorous meaſures preparing, in caſe it was refuſed.

The frigate promiſed to the Dey had been long ready in the port of Toulon, and its departure was only retarded in conſequence of his own requeſt that the command ſhould be given to Captain Dou-

* This was the account tranſmitted to me by the French conſul at Algiers.

mergue,

mergue, a man originally from France, but who had been long ſettled in Algiers, and was ſtrongly protected by the Dey, who had an intereſt in moſt of his commercial ſchemes. That he might turn ſuch an opportunity to the greateſt profit, Doumergue had come to France to provide an advantageous cargo; and the time neceſſary for this was the ſole cauſe of the frigate's being ſo long detained. But it was now ſent off with the utmoſt diſpatch, under the command of an intelligent officer, who had inſtructions to explain the whole affair to the Dey, and to require ſatisfaction for the inſult which the French conſul had received. Captain Doumergue was ſent with him, as an inconteſtible witneſs of the truth of theſe facts. The winds being favourable, the voyage was ſhort: but on their arrival before Algiers, the frigate was refuſed entrance into the harbour, by the expreſs command of the regency. Captain Doumergue was then ſent aſhore in a boat. He waited upon the Dey, had the order revoked, and in leſs than two hours the

frigate ſailed into the harbour. The officer who commanded it ſoon obtained an audience of the Dey, who was perfectly ſatisfied with the explanation he received, and acknowledged he had been deceived, but threw the whole blame upon the French conſul, who had allowed him to remain in error; and he demanded that he ſhould be recalled. On the following day the commander of the frigate was admitted to a ſecond audience, and was received with diſtinguiſhed reſpect. The Dey made him ſit down by him, contrary to the uſual cuſtom, and talked of the affairs of France, particularly of the ſituation of the king, with the moſt lively intereſt. He told him that he had given orders for ſix Arabian horſes to be conveyed on board his ſhip, as a preſent for his majeſty; and that it was his intention to adhere to the treaty betwixt France and Algiers; and in order to do honour to this miſſion, he conſented that the trade of France ſhould this year draw from Algiers three veſſels of grain over and above the number fixed by the laſt

laſt treaty. Next day the commander of the frigate took his leave, and the Dey gave him a letter for the king. This officer ſet ſail for Toulon, where he arrived in a ſhort time, as he had taken in the croſſing betwixt Toulon and Algiers, ſo that his miſſion was fulfilled in leſs than eight days; and I had the ſatisfaction of announcing to the aſſembly the iſſue, three weeks after I had announced the rupture with Algiers.

The rapidity and ſucceſs of this negociation excited ſo great a ſurpriſe, that my enemies affected to believe the whole affair to be a romance, fabricated for the purpoſe of diverting their attention from the denunciation againſt me. And this opinion would probably have prevailed, if the Arabian horſes had not arrived, and if the deputies of the *Bouches du Rhone* had not been informed of the truth by their correſpondents.

In the Dey's letter to his majeſty, among many expreſſions of friendſhip and good will, he offered to aſſiſt the king to reduce

his rebellious ſubjects, in order to reſtore him to the poſſeſſion of his juſt authority. It will eaſily be believed, that in the tranſlation of this letter, which I laid before the aſſembly, I took care to ſuppreſs this ſentence, which I ſhould have been ſuſpected of having ſuggeſted; and it would certainly have been cited in the Journals as a proof of the exiſtence of a horrible plot againſt the liberty of the nation.

During the negociation with Algiers, a ſecret meſſage was ſent to the king from Tippoo Saëb, who demanded of the king 6000 French troops, offering to pay their tranſportation, cloathing, and maintenance. He was convinced, that with this aſſiſtance he could deſtroy the Engliſh army and ſettlements in India, and enſure the poſſeſſion to France. That nothing might tranſpire of this affair, Tippoo had not mentioned it in his council, and had ſecretly negociated the buſineſs with M. de Freſne, governor of Pondicherry, through the means of M. Leger, *adminiſtrateur civil* of France in India, who

who underſtood the Perſian language, and who wrote the diſpatches dictated by Tippoo relative to this embaſſy. M. Leger himſelf came from India to France with this meſſage; and in order to conceal the real object of his voyage, ſome time before he ſet out he had declared that his private affairs would oblige him to return immediately to France.

As M. Leger was directed to the miniſter of marine, I informed the king of Tippoo Saëb's propoſal: but notwithſtanding its advantages, and although the inſurrection of the negroes of St. Domingo rendered it neceſſary to ſend a conſiderable force there, under the pretence of which it would have been eaſy to have ſent to the Eaſt Indies the 6000 men demanded by Tippoo, without raiſing the ſuſpicion of the Engliſh government; the natural probity of the king's mind would not permit him to adopt this meaſure. "This reſembles," ſaid he, "the affair of America, which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we

ſuffer for it now. The leſſon is too ſevere to be forgotten *."

The meſſage of Tippoo Saëb was accompanied with preſents for the king and queen. Thoſe deſtined for the king conſiſted of an aſſortment of gold gauze, crimſon ſilk ſtuffs flowered with gold, painted linen for three Perſian dreſſes, twelve pieces of white linen of the fineſt quality, an aigrette of bad diamonds, flat and yellow and ill ſet, with a claſp ornamented in the ſame taſte. The preſents for the queen were ſtill leſs valuable, conſiſting merely of three bottles half full of Indian eſſences, of a very inferior quality, and a box of perfumed powder balls and ſcented matches. When I preſented the ſtuffs and diamonds to the king, he ſaid to me, laughing, "What can I do with all this trumpery? It ſeems only proper to dreſs up dolls. But *you* have little girls; they may be pleaſed with them. Give the whole to them."

* "Ceci reſſembleroit beaucoup (dit il) à l'affaire d'Amerique, à la quelle je ne penſe jamais ſans regret. On a un peu abuſé de ma jeuneſſe dans ce temps la; nous en portons la peine aujourdhui. La leçon eſt trop forte pour l'oublier."

"But

"But the diamonds, ſire," ſaid I.

"O, they are mighty fine, to be ſure," added he, ſmiling. "Perhaps you would have them placed among the jewels of the crown. Pray take them alſo, and wear them in your hat, if you pleaſe."

The queen would receive only one bottle of the eſſence of roſes. She made me a preſent of the reſt, ſaying, that ſhe valued nothing which came from India, except the beautiful linen. I then begged ſhe would permit me to preſent her with that which the king gave me the preceding day.

"Willingly," ſaid the queen: "but I won't take it all. How many pieces are there?"

"Twelve, madam," anſwered I.

"Well," ſaid ſhe, "bring me, at firſt, two pieces, and I will ſee whether they ſuit me. Beſides, you will by this means have an apparent motive of ſeeing me oftener, without raiſing ſuſpicion that you come to the pretended Auſtrian committee."

She then expreſſed how much the king had been hurt by that atrocious calumny,

which they daily endeavoured to confirm in the public papers by the moſt abſurd falſehoods.

During this converſation, the little Dauphin, beautiful as an angel, was ſinging and ſkipping about in the queen's apartment, with a ſmall wooden ſabre and ſhield in his hand, which had been given him that day. They came to take him away to ſupper, and in two bounds he was at the door.

"How now, my ſon!" ſaid the queen; "you are going without making a bow to M. Bertrand."

"O, mamma," ſaid he, ſmiling, and continuing to jump, "is not M. Bertrand one of our friends? Good night, M. Bertrand!" So ſaying, he bounded out of the room.

"Is he not very pretty?" ſaid the queen, when he was gone. "He is happy alſo in being ſo young; for," added ſhe, with a ſigh, "he does not feel our ſorrows, and his gaiety does us good."

Unable to ſpeak, I wiped my eyes, and her majeſty reſumed, "They haraſs *you* alſo,

alſo, M. Bertrand: but you pay no regard to them, for they do not know the conſtitution ſo well as you do. Are you not afraid, however, that thoſe permiſſions of abſence to navy officers, which you are accuſed of having granted in ſuch profuſion, will turn out ill? The king," continued ſhe, "is really uneaſy on that head."

"I am, aſſuredly, infinitely honoured," replied I, "and grateful for the intereſt which the king and your majeſty take in that accuſation, which, however, is too ill-founded to give me any uneaſineſs."

"But, after all," reſumed the queen, "how many have you granted?"

"I cannot exactly tell," anſwered I; "but I ſhould think about a hundred. This, however, I do know for certain, that of all I have granted, there is not a ſingle one which I would not grant again to-morrow; becauſe, in ſpite of all the noiſe raiſed by my accuſers, every one of thoſe permiſſions have been granted conformably to the exiſting laws."

"I am

"I am happy," anſwered ſhe, "to ſee you in this perfect ſecurity: but be upon your guard againſt their ſecret malice, for your innocence will be no ſecurity againſt that."

Engraved by Agar

LEWIS XVII

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CHAP. XVII.

Inſulting letter from the preſident of the aſſembly to the king, which his majeſty ſends to the miniſterial committee.—Letter written by me, upon this occaſion, to the king.—Important meaſures are taken to form a royaliſt party in the aſſembly, which fail, through the indiſcretion of M. de Narbonne.—A diviſion in the council.—Its conſequences.

THE aſſembly, ſeeing how much the miniſters had loſt credit by their conduct and by their want of unanimity, became every day more enterpriſing. Condorcet being named preſident about the beginning of February, was ordered by the aſſembly to write a letter to the king: but as the form in which the preſident was to addreſs letters to the king had not been regulated by the conſtitution, after ſome diſcuſſion,

cuſſion, it was decreed that the preſident of the national aſſembly, in writing to the king, ſhould lay aſide the term *Sire*, and directly begin with the ſubject of the letter; and afterwards finiſh and ſign it without any of the accuſtomed expreſſions of reſpect.

Condorcet wrote the letter according to the form preſcribed, which, after being ſubmitted to the aſſembly, was ſent by one of the huiſſiers to the king. I was with him in his apartment when the letter was delivered. He appeared to be greatly ſhocked on reading it.

"Is it poſſible to carry inſolence farther?" ſaid he, preſenting the letter to me. "It is from Condorcet."

After having read it, I obſerved, that if the letter had been addreſſed to a clerk of the aſſembly, it could not have been written in a leſs reſpectful ſtile *.

"I hope," added I, "that your majeſty will not allow this inſolence to paſs unnoticed."

* *Vide* the Appendix, No. I.

"It

" It is rather too much to be entirely overlooked," anſwered the king. " But what meaſure is to be taken?"

" In your majeſty's place, I would immediately ſend back the letter to the aſſembly. But I will not take upon me to give you this advice until I have reflected further upon it."

" Is not there to be a miniſterial committee this evening?" reſumed the king. " Go you to *M. le Garde des Sceaux*, and I ſhall ſend him the letter."

" I immediately went to the houſe of the *Garde des Sceaux*, and informed him and my colleagues, who were already there, of what had paſſed. Soon after the king ſent Condorcet's letter; and they were all ſo much revolted upon reading it, that I expected they would adviſe the king to repel the inſult in the ſtrongeſt terms: but upon examining the different articles of the conſtitution, they found that the caſe in queſtion had not been foreſeen, and they therefore concluded that it would be moſt prudent for the king to make no anſwer to the letter, which

which would ſufficiently mark his diſpleaſure.

On the contrary, my opinion was, that the ſilence of the conſtitution, on this head, only proved that it had never been doubted but that the reſpect, which had ever been conſidered as due to the king, was to be continued. But if they ſuppoſed that this ſilence authorized the ſlighteſt deviation from reſpect to his majeſty, they might alſo ſuppoſe that it authoriſed the greateſt enormities; for nothing was ſaid in the conſtitution againſt inſulting or even murdering the king. That beſides, the form of correſpondence betwixt the king and the aſſembly being already fixed, namely, by preſenting their decrees, or ſending verbal meſſages by a deputation of the members, he had a right not to admit of any innovation which diſpleaſed him. That if they imagined there was any energy in the meaſure of not anſwering Condorcet's letter, they muſt acknowledge that it was an energy of a paſſive nature; and that in the king's ſituation, ſuch a kind of energy would

would prove as hurtful as real weakneſs, as it tended to ſhew that he was hurt, without having power to reſent the injury.

Theſe reflections determined me to write the following letter to the king, on the 8th of February 1792:

"Your majeſty has been adviſed to take no notice of the preſident of the aſſembly's letter. I, on the contrary, think, that tolerating this inſult will draw on many others, much more ſerious in their conſequences. It appears to me of the higheſt importance for your majeſty to write immediately to the aſſembly. I ſend the copy of a letter; and if your majeſty approves of it, the miniſters may be inſtantly ſummoned, and the letter communicated to them, in your own hand-writing. Mine ought not to appear."

Copy of the Letter to the Aſſembly.

"Gentlemen,

"When the nation acknowledged me for its king, I was entruſted with the national dignity, which I cannot, in any circumſtance,

cumſtance, allow to be attacked. I therefore return the letter which the preſident ſent me yeſterday by an huiſſier. The conſtitution has fixed the form of correſpondence betwixt the national aſſembly and the king. I ought not and I will not correſpond with it in any other manner than by that form; namely, by meſſages. As for that reſpect which is due to me, I will rely on the ſentiments which the French have always had for their kings *."

This meaſure appeared to his majeſty too ſtrong, and the negative energy of ſilence was preferred; conſequently no anſwer was given to the letter of the preſident.

To augment the king's popularity was at all times the object of the miniſters, but more particularly on thoſe occaſions when the aſſembly treated him with inſolence; and the letter of Condorcet was the greateſt outrage which his majeſty had as yet received. He was adviſed to make a tour round the ſuburbs on horſeback, to converſe affably with the people, to viſit the

* *Vide* the Appendix, No. II.

hoſpitals, and diſtribute alms. Theſe acts of humanity, ſo much in uniſon with his character, gained him the applauſe of ſome people in the ſtreet, who cried *Vive le roi!* but no other advantage enſued.

The formation of their majeſties' houſehold, which the miniſters had hitherto neglected, was now regarded as a meaſure of the utmoſt importance, particularly as they flattered themſelves that the king would be prevailed upon only to admit perſons of acknowledged patriotiſm; therefore the committee of miniſters again took up this affair, and ſome of them propoſed plans, and gave in liſts of thoſe whom they wiſhed to have received into the houſehold.

I informed the king, by the following letter, that the miniſters were occupied on this ſubject:

"In the committee of yeſterday, your majeſty's houſehold was one ſubject of diſcuſſion. A liſt has been made of thirty perſons who are to be propoſed. The farther conſideration is deferred till Tueſday. The ancient almanack of Verſailles, and

that of the court of London, are to be conſulted.

"As my deſire is to preſent your majeſty with a plan for that purpoſe, and ſuch a liſt as will be agreeable to you, I take the liberty of requeſting that your majeſty will let me know your wiſhes on both theſe points, and I ſhall uſe every means, in the committee, to promote them. This I will endeavour to do in ſuch a manner as to prevent all ſuſpicion of my having received ſuch a mark of confidence; having no view but that of giving to your majeſty a freſh proof of my reſpect and unlimited attachment *."

The king ſent me no anſwer to this letter: but when I went to the levee, the ſame day, he approached the window where I was ſtanding, and while he ſeemed to be looking at what was paſſing in the court of the palace, he ſaid, in a low voice, "I received your letter. Let them take their own courſe,"

I was at this time occupied with the *Garde des Sceaux* and M. de Leſſart, in a

* *Vide* the Appendix, No. III.

meaſure

meaſure of far greater importance. We were endeavouring to form, ſecretly, a royaliſt party in the aſſembly, and had already gained over eight or ten members of great influence in the *coté droit*; that is to ſay, among the moderate party; and it was only neceſſary to give them the means of influencing that party diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *Independants*, or the undecided, who voted ſometimes with the *Moderés*, and ſometime with the *Enragés*, ſome of whom were ſuppoſed to have no other reaſon but to announce that they were to be bought, and would join the party who offered them the beſt terms. It was very well known, from the manner in which this aſſembly was compoſed, that there were few of the members who were not to be gained either by money, or the promiſe of places for their relations and friends. As the power of nominating to places belonged to each miniſter for his own department only, it was neceſſary to acquaint them all with this plan, in order that they might all concur in its execution. For this purpoſe, we all aſ-

ſembled at the houſe of M. de Narbonne, who gave us a dinner, along with a certain perſon who was to be a principal agent in this buſineſs, as being intimately acquainted with many members of the aſſembly. That this dinner might be the more ſecret, we met at the *petite maiſon* of M. de Narbonne. After dinner, this perſon preſented to us the propoſals of the principal deputies, with whom he had already begun to treat, and the following articles were agreed upon:

Firſt, That none of the ſaid deputies were to have any perſonal communication with the miniſters, but were only to negotiate with them through the above-mentioned agent.

Secondly, That they muſt never be required to propoſe or ſupport any motion contrary to the conſtitution.

Thirdly, That as often as the king and council wiſhed for their ſupport for any particular meaſure, the ſaid deputies muſt be informed twenty-four hours beforehand by the agent, through whom they would

inſtruct

inſtruct the miniſters with their objections, if they had any, and receive their anſwers.

Fourthly, That the means to be uſed for influencing the aſſembly muſt be left entirely to them; that their demand as to this article admitted of no reſtriction,

The fund from which this expence was to be drawn, was, Firſt, The ſum of 1,500,000 livres, belonging to the department of foreign affairs, for ſecret expences, of which the miniſter for that department was not obliged to give an account to any body but to the king.

Secondly, From the free fund which certain miniſters had at their diſpoſal.

And, thirdly, From the civil liſt.

The conference broke up at ten o'clock at night. The miniſters agreed, at parting, on the neceſſity of keeping this affair profoundly ſecret. Indeed the very nature of the caſe implied as much. Unfortunately, M. de Narbonne, juſt as he went from this meeting, met with Mathieu de Montmorenci, and a member of the aſſembly, who waited for him, as he entered the

Hotel de la Guerre, and informed them of what had paſſed. At half paſt eleven that ſame night, the news had ſpread in the aſſembly, which was ſtill ſitting. It was loudly complained of; the members concerned were enraged; and thus the affair completely failed.

The miniſters were in the utmoſt ſurpriſe and conſternation next day, on hearing this account. They were eager to have an explanation with M. de Narbonne, but he took care to avoid it that day, by not coming to the council till after it was begun, and hurrying out the inſtant it was over. However, he came to the committee of miniſters next day, and upon being reproached for having divulged what had paſſed at the conference, he at firſt ſaid that he did not remember having mentioned it: but when Mathieu de Montmorenci and the other member of the aſſembly were named to him, "Mathieu de Montmorenci," ſaid he, "is my friend;. and I am certain that he would not ſpeak of it to any body. With regard to the member of the aſſembly, he is

of

of our party, and conſequently equally intereſted with us in keeping the ſecret."

"It is of very little conſequence," anſwered the *Garde des Sceaux*, "which of them divulged it: but what cannot be denied is, that we all ſolemnly promiſed to mention it to nobody."

"That is true," returned M. de Narbonne; "and I was wrong. But in ſhort, gentlemen, I have long perceived that we cannot act together; and I will even own to you, that if I knew of five perſons proper to be propoſed to the king in your places, I ſhould immediately do it, and remain myſelf; becauſe I think it would be of eſſential benefit to his majeſty's ſervice that I continued in adminiſtration. But as I cannot make this change, I am determined to reſign."

"Your reſignation, or ours, is not the affair in queſtion," ſaid the *Garde des Sceaux*. "We are perhaps as little attached to our places as you can be: but we are ſenſible, that, in the preſent circumſtances, the leaſt change in the council might be

fatal to the king. We therefore wiſh to continue to act with you; and nothing will be eaſier, if you will fairly come to an underſtanding with us, and then adhere, without deviation, to what we have once agreed upon."

"No," replied M. de Narbonne, "that is impoſſible; becauſe there are ſome members in the council with whom I can never agree: for inſtance, M. de Bertrand."

"Me, Sir!" cried I, greatly aſtoniſhed. "And upon what account? What has happened to alter your opinion, ſince you made me ſo many proteſtations of eſteem? Is it my fault that you have been guilty of an indiſcretion, which has been attended with very bad conſequences?"

"That is out of the queſtion," ſaid he. "But I ſee very well that we do not go upon the ſame plan. You refuſed me a frigate."

"I refuſe you a frigate! When did you aſk for one?" anſwered I.

"Don't you remember," replied he, "what you declared in the council, when I mentioned

mentioned the poſſibility of our having occaſion for one, when we had under conſideration the affair of M. de la Jaille, at Breſt?"

"Was I to conſider", ſaid I, "an accidental obſervation, made by you at the time of that inſurrection, as the official demand of a frigate? You appeared to have no other intention, in the queſtion you then put to me, than to know if I would arm a frigate, to cruiſe along our coaſt, in the caſe of our apprehending hoſtile intentions in any of the maritime powers; and I anſwered, that I did not then know an officer to whom I would give ſuch a command. If you had directly aſked a frigate for yourſelf, I ſhould have acquainted the king, and have done as he ſhould have ordered."

This converſation was followed by ſome obſervations from the *Garde des Sceaux*, upon the neceſſity of maintaining, at leaſt, the appearance of unanimity in the council: but the committee broke up, without M. de Narbonne having ſhewn any diſpoſition to reconciliation, or to act in a friendly manner with the other miniſters;

and

and the public were ſoon informed of the diviſions in the council, which encouraged the malecontents to attack us; and no time was loſt. The *Garde des Sceaux* was denounced in the aſſembly. Another denunciation was announced againſt M. de Leſſart; and the memorial of complaint againſt me, which appeared to have been forgotten, being again revived, was given in to the king.

CHAP. XVIII.

Generals Rochambeau, la Fayette, and Luckner arrive at Paris.—Their converſation with the king.—They are introduced into the council.—M. de Narbonne abſents himſelf from the miniſterial committees.—M. de la Fayette comes to the committee.—Speaks of the ill conſequences which muſt attend the miſunderſtanding among the miniſters.—He propoſes that I ſhould retire from the adminiſtration.—My letter to M. de Narbonne reſpecting an article in Briſſot's Journal.—A letter from each of the three generals to M. de Narbonne.

M. DE NARBONNE had ſummoned the three generals Rochambeau, Luckner, and la Fayette to Paris, upon pretence of making them give an account of the ſtate of the armies, and of the plan of operations. They were introduced by M. de Narbonne into the council, on Friday

the

the 2d of March, in ſpite of the repúgnance which the king had to ſo unuſual a meaſure. Before the council opened, his majeſty aſked them ſeveral queſtions upon the ſtate of the armies. M. de Rochambeau, who was firſt interrogated, anſwered, "that his army was in a very bad condition with reſpect both to clothing and arms; and as for diſcipline, it was almoſt entirely overthrown, and out of his power, in the preſent circumſtances, to re-eſtabliſh it; of courſe, that with ſuch troops, all military operations muſt be of a defenſive nature only."

General Luckner, who had probably drank a little freely at dinner, ſaw things in a much pleaſanter point of view than his colleague.

"*Je dis pas votre majeſté*," ſaid the general, addreſſing the king in his German French," "*qu'il y a pas auſſi quelque petit choſe à dire ſur mon armée, qu'il manque pas auſſi quelque petits obchets d'armement ou d'equipement; le diſcipline il n'eſt pas non plus trop pon; mais c'eſt écal; quand je commande*

commande les troupes, ils ont beaucoup d'ardeur, ils me ſuivront partout comme je veux, mais je ſuis pour le guerre offenſif, c'eſt l'offenſif qu'il faut pour les Français, ils ſont pas pour le deffenſif, l'offenſif, votre majeſté, l'offenſif."*

M. de la Fayette being interrogated in his turn, anſwered in a few words; he contradicted neither of his colleagues; and, although their opinions were quite oppoſite, he contrived to accommodate what he ſaid to both: after which, the king imagining that they would immediately retire, ſeemed pleaſed with the thought, that the impropriety of their ſitting in the council was thus avoided; but when he bowed, in expectation of their withdrawing, they requeſted his permiſſion to read a memorial,

* I do not pretend to deny that ſomething of the ſame nature may not be ſaid of my army, which are alſo in want of certain little articles reſpecting arms and clothing; and the diſcipline, to be ſure, is not very ſtrict; but that is of little conſequence, for, when I command, the troops always diſplay ardour, they follow me always as I wiſh; but I am for offenſive war; the French troops excel in the attack; they are not fit for the defenſive. Offenſive war, pleaſe your majeſty, offenſive war for ever.

which

which appearing to be too long to be heard ſtanding, his majeſty ſeated himſelf, and deſired the generals to do the ſame.

The memorial was of little or no conſequence; and, when it was finiſhed, he told the generals, that he would conſider upon it, and they retired.

Next day M. de Narbonne did not appear in the committee of miniſters; but his friend M. de la Fayette came in his place, and ſpoke much of the bad effect which the diſſenſions in the miniſtry had on the public mind, and of the fatal conſequences they might produce to the king, &c. &c.

"You preach repentance," anſwered one of the miniſters; "but is your friend M. de Narbonne of the ſame opinion?"

"Yes, undoubtedly he is."

"Why then does not he join his colleagues, after the deſire which they ſhewed to be reconciled to him?"

"This was what I wiſhed," returned M. de la Fayette; "but after what he informed me concerning what paſſed between him and

and M. Bertrand, at the laſt committee, it ſeems almoſt impoſſible that one or other ſhould not quit the miniſtry; and M. Bertrand muſt pardon me, if truth forces me to ſay, that however eſtimable his conduct may be, his retreat, in the preſent circumſtances, would be as uſeful to the king, as that of M. de Narbonne would be fatal."

"Were I of that opinion," ſaid I, "I ſhould moſt certainly reſign without heſitation; but I can with difficulty believe, that it would be advantageous to the king to be abandoned by one of his miniſters, merely becauſe ſome baſe calumniators have made complaints againſt him that are abſurd, and without the ſmalleſt foundation. With regard to the attack which M. de Narbonne directed againſt me, in order to extricate himſelf, ſurely that does not entitle him to require my retreat; and, although I have a better right to inſiſt on his, ſo far am I from making any ſuch requeſt, that I now join my colleagues in inviting him to a reconciliation: this ought

to ſatisfy him. You may aſſure him, at the ſame time, Sir," added I, "that notwithſtanding his popularity, the term of my miniſtry ſhall never depend upon his caprice. I have long ſince acquainted his majeſty with the particular time when I thought it would be neceſſary for me to quit his ſervice—the period is at no great diſtance; but moſt aſſuredly I ſhall not haſten it a moment to pleaſe M. de Narbonne."

The other miniſters approved of what I had ſaid, and ſupported me in it; and M. de la Fayette retired, much diſſatisfied at the bad ſucceſs of his embaſſy.

The next day, being the 4th of March, 1792, the following article appeared in Briſſot's Journal:

"The reports which have been for ſome time circulating, of diſſenſions in the cabinet council, are well founded—a miſunderſtanding ſubſiſts betwixt the miniſter of war and the miniſter of marine: the firſt, whoſe attachment to the conſtitution is well known, employs every means of executing

ing its laws, ſo as to render it ſucceſsful; while the ſecond endeavours to execute them in ſuch a manner as to overturn it."

As ſoon as I ſaw this paragraph, I wrote the following letter to M. de Narbonne:

"SIR,

"I have juſt read a paragraph in the *Patriote Français*, which I make no doubt has ſhocked you as much as it has done me. Being convinced you had no ſhare in it, I preſume you are ſenſible of the propriety of immediately requiring that the paragraph may be retracted; which it will be eaſy for you to obtain."

M. de Narbonne's Anſwer.

"SIR,

"I felt as much uneaſineſs as you could on reading the paragraph you mention: in the inſerting of which I certainly had no hand; but, as I am convinced, that the aſſertions it contains are true, I can neither contradict them, nor require that they ſhould be retracted.

"I greatly eſteem your talents and virtues; at the ſame time, I have had occaſion to obſerve, that our ideas are not the ſame reſpecting the conſtitution; and it appears to me, that our different method of executing its laws, in ſuch critical circumſtances, muſt be as hurtful to public affairs as to the king's intereſt."

Notwithſtanding this extraordinary anſwer, I wiſhed to try every means of being reconciled with M. de Narbonne. His diſmiſſion would have been the conſequence of an open rupture; and, as he was then the moſt popular miniſter, this would have been hurtful to the king. The ſame day, therefore, on which I received this letter, finding myſelf ſeated next him at the council, I wrote the ſubſequent note, and ſhowed it to M. de Narbonne.

"If M. de Narbonne has, as I wiſh, reflected more maturely upon the letter I ſent him this morning, it depends upon himſelf to re-eſtabliſh perfect unanimity in the council: he has only to complain of the article in the *Patriote Français*; to ex-

preſs before the council his ſurpriſe and uneaſineſs on account of its inſertion, and to declare that he will immediately write to the editor to deſire it may be retracted. I have not communicated the ſubject of this note to any of my colleagues; and I give my word of honour that I never will, in the hopes that the ſtep which I recommend, may be regarded by them as the ſpontaneous effects of M. de Narbonne's candour, which will certainly reconcile them all to him."

M. de Narbonne, after reading this note, wrote the following anſwer under it:

"I perſiſt in the ſame opinion, which I ſent M. Bertrand this morning. He is at liberty to lay open immediately, before the king, all the circumſtances regarding Briſſot's paragraph. I am ready to explain myſelf upon that article."

I wrote back upon the ſame paper:

"Don't you think it would be more expedient to diſcuſs this affair in the committee, after the council, before it is mentioned to the king?"

M. de Narbonne anſwered, by the ſingle word, "willingly."

After the council, we went to the apartment in the palace appropriated for the committee. I gave an account of my letter, and M. de Narbonne's anſwer, concerning the paragraph inſerted in Briſſot's Journal, with which all the miniſters had been very much offended. Then addreſſing myſelf to M. de Narbonne, I ſaid,

"I now requeſt, Sir, that you will frankly explain, before our colleagues, what you mean by the difference of opinion which, you ſay, ſubſiſts betwixt us concerning the conſtitution, and of our different mode of executing it. I ought, and I am convinced I do underſtand the conſtitution better than you do; becauſe my department not being ſo much overcharged as your's, I have had more leiſure to ſtudy it; I never take a ſtep without conſulting it; and I am very ſure that it is not in your power to give a ſingle inſtance wherein I have deviated from what the conſtitution preſcribes."

"I con-

"I conteſt nothing of all that," replied M. de Narbonne; "but you ought, with the ſame frankneſs on your part, to acknowledge that you do *not like* the conſtitution; that you do not *approve of it.*"

"No Sir," reſumed I, "that is what I will not acknowledge; I will only declare that I do not allow myſelf to decide on the merits or demerits of the conſtitution. I ſhall defer paſſing my judgment until that of the nation is manifeſted, after having experienced the effects which will reſult from its execution. Neither you nor I have ſworn to love it; at all events, we have only taken an oath to execute it faithfully, and to enforce it by all the means in our power: let us content ourſelves with being faithful to our oath."

"Yes," replied he; "but while I uſe every means of making the conſtitution ſucceed, you endeavour to have it executed, in ſuch a manner, as may prove to the nation that it never can go on."

"That is to ſay," returned I, "you *ſuppoſe* this to be my intention; for you certainly

have not the ſmalleſt proof of it; and I never made ſuch a declaration to you, nor to any body elſe. Your ſuppoſition would be more plauſible if I adhered with leſs ſtrictneſs to the conſtitution; but it is ſtrange to conclude, from my ſcrupulous obſervance of it, that my deſign is to ſhew the public that it cannot be executed: thus, Sir, it is impoſſible for me to eſcape your cenſure, let me act as I will. May I aſk by what right you aſſert that I have a deſign ſo contradictory to my conduct; and can you ſeriouſly found your quarrel with me on ſuch vague and inconſiſtent ſuppoſitions."

"I don't mean to quarrel with you," he anſwered; "but you deſired me to explain myſelf openly: then I muſt plainly tell you, that I form my opinion in conſequence of what I ſee: your department does not go on."

"My department does not go on! what do you know, Sir, upon the ſubject? what do you find deficient?"

"This,

"This, Sir; that you have not commenced the new organization of the navy: you have not an officer; not a captain of a frigate, while the land force is complete."

"It is true, Sir, that the new organization of the navy is not far advanced; but it certainly is not my fault, as the aſſembly has not yet paſſed one of the decrees neceſſary to regulate this organization, although I have repeatedly demanded them; and as I have no right to iſſue ſuch decrees, nor the power of executing them before they exiſt, I deſerve no blame on that head: indeed I have never been blamed on that account by the aſſembly, notwithſtanding the prevailing prejudice againſt me. If I had been as fortunate as you were," continued I, "in having all my decrees immediately paſſed, perhaps I ſhould have been as far advanced; particularly if I had ſupplied the place of officers by pilots and ſailors, as you ſupplied the officers who were miſſing by ſerjeants and common ſoldiers; perhaps I might have alſo had *my* Luckner to boaſt of; for the famous corſaire Paul

Jones preſented himſelf twice at my levee to demand the rank of Admiral."

"Well, well," ſaid M. de Narbonne, "you ſee what a footing you are on with the aſſembly: you can obtain nothing, while nothing I aſk is refuſed me: It is true, that I frequently attend the aſſembly, and go almoſt every day to the committees. If you had purſued the ſame plan, you would undoubtedly have had the ſame ſucceſs; but you never would have any communication with the committees: this ſingularity gave offence; and I am not ſurpriſed that it has raiſed you many enemies in the aſſembly."

"I am not ſurpriſed at it neither," ſaid I; "but notwithſtanding the ſucceſs which you owe to your communication with the committees, I perſiſt in the opinion, that theſe communications are much more dangerous than uſeful. But, in ſhort, Sir, this is foreign to the queſtion; for certainly it is not for my perſiſting in communicating with the aſſembly only, and refuſing to attend the committees, that you ſuppoſe me

to

to have an intention of ſubverting that very conſtitution which orders us to communicate directly with the aſſembly, and ſays nothing of committees."

"In ſhort, it is to no purpoſe," reſumed he, "to prolong this diſpute, as we may go on till to-morrow without coming to any agreement. What has paſſed, only proves that our principles are too oppoſite ever to be reconciled; and this conſideration would have determined me to retire from adminiſtration, as I informed you at the houſe of the *Garde des Sceaux*, if I had not been reſtrained by the intreaties of the generals."

"You will act as you pleaſe, Sir," replied I.

All the miniſters were ſtruck with the futility of M. de Narbonne's objections, and the force of my anſwers. They expoſtulated with M. de Narbonne, and endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation; but all in vain. He ſtood out with the obſtinacy of a perſon who had a fixed plan, from which he was determined not to recede. This conduct of M. de Narbonne,

Narbonne, at firſt appeared inconſiſtent with the intention he had announced, of giving in his reſignation, but it became a little more intelligible three days after, by the extraordinary meaſure he adopted of publiſhing in the newſpapers three letters he had received from the generals Rochambeau, Luckner, and la Fayette, with his anſwers.

Thoſe letters had been written at the requeſt of M. de Narbonne himſelf; they were all three to the ſame effect, and very nearly in the ſame words. The ſubſtance was as follows:

"That the report of his retreat gave them the greateſt uneaſineſs: that it was his duty to remain in adminiſtration, as his talents, activity, and reſources were ſo uſeful to his country. That their confidence in him, and the certitude of obtaining, through his diligence, all neceſſary ſuccour, had been their only motive for retaining the command of the armies; but that, if he perſiſted in his determination to retire, they muſt give up a ſituation, the duties

duties of which, they would no longer have the power properly to diſcharge."

M. de Narbonne's anſwer was conceived in nearly the ſubſequent terms:

"It is true, my dear general, that the difference of opinion which ſubſiſts betwixt M. Bertrand and me, reſpecting the conſtitution, had determined me to give in my reſignation; but the value you attach to my ſervices, and your earneſt deſire for my continuance in adminiſtration, make me conſider it as a duty to remain as long as the king honours me with his confidence."

The publication of theſe letters, opened the eyes of the three generals, who had probably written them unknown to each other; and each in the hope, that his perſonal approbation would have ſufficient weight with the king, to fix M. de Narbonne in adminiſtration. They now began to ſuſpect that he had ſummoned them to Paris, and loaded them with civilities, merely with a view to induce them to take this ſtep; which was the more remarkable,

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as at that time attempts were made to turn him into ridicule by numerous pamphlets and caricatures, in which he was diſtinguiſhed by the nick name of *Miniſtre Linote* *.

M. de Narbonne had flattered himſelf, that the publication of this correſpondence would confirm his credit in the aſſembly, and put the king under the neceſſity of retaining him in the adminiſtration, leſt his retiring ſhould occaſion that of all the three generals; but the event did not anſwer his expectation; for thoſe gentlemen were ſo much offended at the publication of their letters, that they complained of it to his majeſty; and retracted their declaration of having a deſign to retire upon his reſignation.

* Linnet.

CHAP. XIX.

The miniſters aſſemble to examine the conduct of M. de Narbonne.—They unanimouſly agree never more to ſit in the council with him.—My reſignation.—Letter from M. de Leſſart to the king.—My converſation with his majeſty.—Diſmiſſion of M. de Narbonne.—Violent diſcontents in the aſſembly.—Decree againſt M. de Leſſart.—Death of the Emperor.—The Chevalier de Graves appointed miniſter of war.

THE conduct of M. de Narbonne raiſed the indignation of all the miniſters; and the day on which his correſpondence with the three generals was made public, they met in committee to deliberate on the part to be taken reſpecting him. It was unanimouſly decided, in the firſt place, that none of the miniſters ſhould any longer do buſineſs with M. de Narbonne, and therefore it became neceſſary that the king

king ſhould immediately decide betwixt him and us. But as the diſmiſſion of M. de Narbonne, in conſequence of a quarrel, which ſeemed to have ariſen from his zeal for the conſtitution, might ſet the king and council in an unfavourable light in the eyes of the public, we conſidered every poſſible means of obviating this inconvenience, and my reſignation was conſidered as the moſt eligible. I oppoſed this deciſion, for two reaſons. The firſt was, that I thought it diſgraceful for me to retire, before his majeſty had given any anſwer to the aſſembly reſpecting the memorial addreſſed to him againſt me, becauſe my retreat might be conſtrued into a tacit acknowledgement of the juſtice of the imputations it contained. In the ſecond place, I earneſtly wiſhed to continue in adminiſtration till the 15th of March, becauſe that day was fixed upon for the review of the new *corps de la marine*, or rather for the diſorganization of the former corps, and therefore I had fixed upon it as the termination of my adminiſtration; and I urged that

that the king could not in juſtice, nor the council in honour, haſten it a day ſooner, as it would be giving M. de Narbonne the ſatisfaction of including me in his fall, and expoſe me to a mortification I had not merited.

Theſe conſiderations made no impreſſion on M. Cayer de Gerville. He had firſt propoſed my reſignation, and he obſtinately inſiſted upon it; and declared with great violence, that he would give in his the very next day if I did not give in mine. This menace frightened the *Garde des Sceaux*, who had, till then, warmly eſpouſed my cauſe; and I alſo became ſenſible, that at an inſtant ſo critical, the popularity of M. Cayer de Gerville would render his retreat more prejudicial to the king than mine. I therefore no longer inſiſted, but conſented to give in my reſignation, provided it was not made public till after the king ſent an anſwer to the memorial which the aſſembly had drawn up againſt me; which could be done early next morning, if the *Garde des Sceaux*, when he waited upon his majeſty

jeſty with the requeſt of the committee, would beg of him to let me have the memorial immediately, in order that I might draw up the ſketch of an anſwer before the opening of the aſſembly.

This condeſcendance obviated all difficulties, and gave ſuch ſatisfaction to M. Cayer de Gerville, that he ſuggeſted to propoſe to the king that I ſhould continue in office after giving in my reſignation, until my ſucceſſor was appointed. By this means all my views were anſwered. I was certain that the king would make no objection. I accordingly wrote my reſignation, while my colleagues were employed in drawing up the anſwer which the king was to make me; and they endeavoured to render it as honourable for me as poſſible. It was agreed upon that the *Garde des Sceaux* ſhould next morning, preſent my reſignation, and the form of the anſwer, as drawn up by the miniſters for his majeſty. It was agreed alſo that M. de Leſſart ſhould that evening, after the committee, write to him an account of what had paſſed. The following is a copy

of that intereſting letter, which renders it ſuperfluous for me to give a circumſtantial detail of what paſſed at the committee, eſpecially as the teſtimony of a third perſon will have more weight than my own.

" I went this evening, betwixt ten and eleven o'clock, to the houſe of the miniſter of juſtice, which I informed your majeſty was my intention, and there I not only found M. Bertrand and M. Tarbé, but alſo M. Cayer; and ſoon after M. de la Fayette arrived, whom the *Garde des Sceaux* had already ſeen in the courſe of the day.

" M. de la Fayette told us that he had been very deſirous of bringing about a reconciliation amongſt the miniſters; that this had at all times appeared difficult to him, upon account of the difference ſubſiſting betwixt M. de Narbonne and M. Bertrand; but that now things had come to that point, that he could no longer interfere: he gave as his reaſon the publication of the three letters from the generals, and, above all, the anſwer which M. de Narbonne had given to him. He declared

that he had never conſented to the publication, nor had he any idea of ſuch a thing till he ſaw the letters in the newſpapers. After this explanation, which was cold and laconic, he retired. The moment he went out, M. Cayer vented his indignation at the conduct of M. de Narbonne, in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions; and he ended by ſaying that he muſt never more ſet his foot in the council. But at the ſame time he added, that the diſmiſſion of M. de Narbonne might produce very bad conſequences, unleſs the voluntary reſignation of M. Bertrand followed ſoon after.

" M. Bertrand ſaid that he could not, at that moment, give in his reſignation, but that he would do it moſt willingly after the 15th of March; that ſuch had always been his fixed intention.

" The *Garde des Sceaux* ſupported M. Bertrand, and ſaid that it would be beneath the king's dignity, and the credit of the miniſtry, to yield upon ſuch an occaſion.

" M. de Cayer inſiſted, with force, upon M. Bertrand's immediate reſignation. He

founded

founded his opinion upon the preſent diſpoſition of the people, the public intereſt, and that of the king.

" He was ſeconded by M. Tarbé in ſuch a manner, that M. Bertrand condeſcended ſo far as to promiſe to give in his diſmiſſion as ſoon as the king ſhould have anſwered the memorial of the national aſſembly.

" M. Cayer inſiſted on his former opinion with great vehemence, declaring, that if M. Bertrand did not give in his reſignation immediately after the king had demanded that of M. de Narbonne, he himſelf would reſign, the very next morning.

" I had, till then, taken little part in the debate, being, at bottom, entirely of the opinion of M. Cayer de Gerville, which I had hitherto concealéd, out of delicacy to M. Bertrand, whoſe ſituation was extremely cruel: but ſeeing things ſo far advanced, I at laſt remarked to M. Bertrand, that as he was reſolved upon the ſacrifice, he ought to make it in the manner moſt advantageous for the king, in the preſent ſtate

of public affairs; and that it appeared highly expedient that he ſhould give in his reſignation next day, in order to diminiſh the effect which M. de Narbonne's diſmiſſion might produce.

"M. le *Garde des Sceaux*, who had been greatly ſtruck with the deciſive declaration of M. de Gerville, being ſenſible of the importance of preventing his reſignation on the ſame day with M. de Narbonne, ranged himſelf on the ſame ſide.

"M. Bertrand conſented; and we drew up the letter which is propoſed for your majeſty to ſend in anſwer to his letter of reſignation.

"This long and important diſcuſſion paſſed without acrimony, and in a manner becoming perſons who have ſentiments of mutual eſteem. Your majeſty's intereſt and the public good were all we had in view.

"In the propoſed anſwer from your majeſty to M. Bertrand, you will require of him to remain in his department till a ſucceſſor is appointed.

"With reſpect to M. de Narbonne, we think he ought immediately to be replaced; and that it is even of conſequence that his ſucceſſor take his place in council this very evening. Upon mature conſideration, it appeared to us that the Chevalier de Graves is the moſt proper perſon to replace him; and on the preſumption that he would be agreeable to your majeſty, the *Garde des Sceaux* ſounded him yeſterday; and during the committee, he went again to his houſe at one o'clock in the morning, with the ſame intention; but not finding him at home, left a note, deſiring to ſee him as early as poſſible.

"We alſo think it very neceſſary that your majeſty ſhould immediately ſend for the three generals, in order to prevent them from giving in their reſignation, which they will moſt certainly be excited to do by every poſſible means. Your majeſty will not fail in perſuaſive arguments. On their part, it would certainly be a failure in their duty, and even a breach of their oath, to reſign at ſuch a conjuncture. But as this

is a point of the utmoſt importance, your majeſty will perhaps think it expedient that the queen ſhould be preſent at this interview, that every circumſtance may concur to enſure ſucceſs.

" There are alſo precautions to be taken relative to the national guards, as it is very poſſible that ſeditious people may take advantage of the preſent circumſtances to excite diſorder.

" It is ſaid that M. de Boiſſieu is not at Paris. By whom is he replaced? Might he not be ſent for?

" Your majeſty will be informed of theſe particulars, in the morning, by the *Garde des Sceaux*. It appeared to us proper to give him the preference upon this occaſion, as being the moſt ancient miniſter, and in ſome reſpects the chief of the council.

" Your majeſty may then ſend for M. Cayer de Gerville, to inform him that you have adopted his opinion; and at the ſame time to requeſt him to continue in adminiſtration beyond the time he has fixed,

which is the 15th of this month. It is to be wiſhed that his reſignation could be deferred at leaſt eight days beyond that period. It would be well if the queen would join her invitation to M. de Gerville to that of your majeſty, by which means ſucceſs would be more certain.

"Your majeſty and the queen ought to ſhew every mark of favour and regard to M. Bertrand, ſo unjuſtly ſacrificed; and who, in yielding to the force of circumſtances, gives the ſtrongeſt proof of attachment and duty. He is a man of merit, who muſt not be looked upon as entirely loſt to your majeſty's ſervice.

"I ſhall end by obſerving, that the conduct of M. de Narbonne is ſo ſeriouſly reprehenſible, that his diſmiſſion ſeems abſolutely neceſſary, unleſs your majeſty prefers giving him your *entire* confidence. But in caſe you ſhould adopt the firſt of theſe meaſures, no time is to be loſt. All explanation will be ſuperfluous, and derogate from your dignity. It is even of conſequence to prevent M. de Narbonne from

coming to the council this evening, as he will not fail to bring a very patriotic diſcourſe, which he will propoſe that your majeſty ſhould addreſs to the national aſſembly; and, if he receives his diſmiſſion next day, he will ſay that it is upon account of this diſcourſe that he has fallen into diſgrace.

"I take the liberty to remind your majeſty of the three generals. It appears to me that you ſhould ſee them: that you ſhould receive them all three together; and, if poſſible, before any of them have been tampered with. In talking of their letters, your majeſty, without informing them of your intentions, may aſk them, If, after ſwearing to be faithful to the nation and the king, they can ſeriouſly determine to ſerve no longer than M. de Narbonne remains in adminiſtration? Your majeſty may add, that even ſuppoſing that ſome alteration ſhould be made in the miniſtry, you will certainly chooſe none but men diſtinguiſhed for patriotiſm and abilities.

"Friday morning, 5 o'clock *."

* *Vide* Appendix, No. IV.

On

On leaving the committee, (about three in the morning,) I immediately ſent a copy of my reſignation to the editor of the *Journal de Paris*, earneſtly requeſting him to inſert it in that day's paper; in order that the retreat of the miniſter, who diſpleaſed the aſſembly, might be made public at the ſame time with the diſmiſſion of him who had more partiſans in it, a circumſtance, however, that did not prevent him from being ſometimes inſulted, which never happened to me.

To give an idea of the manner in which M. de Narbonne was ſometimes treated in that hall, I ſhall only relate the words which the deputy Albitte addreſſed to him at the evening meeting a little before his diſmiſſion:

"That great miniſter," cried the deputy, "whom you behold there, who has ſuch vaſt talents, and whoſe numerous applauders beſiege the aſſembly and the committees, often makes reports entirely devoid of truth. As for his activity, ſo much vaunted,

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it is of as little utility as the activity of one who walks in his ſleep."

M. de Narbonne heard this rhetorical flouriſh with a ſmile of contempt, which was the only reply he ever made to thoſe indecent attacks, for which a leſs enduring miniſter would have obliged the aſſembly to have done him juſtice.

I had not ſeen the memorial which the aſſembly had addreſſed to the king againſt me; but as it could contain little elſe beſides a repetition of the former reports made by the marine committee, I prepared a form of the anſwer the king was to make, all but a refutation of the new accuſations which the memorial might contain. I therefore addreſſed a letter to his majeſty, begging that he would ſend me the memorial, and informing him that my reſignation was to be preſented to him.

My letter was as follows:

"I entreat your majeſty will ſend me the memorial of accuſation againſt me, as it ought to be anſwered as ſoon as poſſible.

ſible. The miniſters, aſſembled laſt night in committee, deliberated till three in the morning upon the letters which M. de Narbonne cauſed to be printed in every journal. His conduct being highly diſapproved of by all, they intend to propoſe that your majeſty ſhould diſmiſs him; but, as the dangerous woman who governs him might take advantage of the preſent criſis, to excite an inſurrection, on pretence that a patriotic miniſter is diſmiſſed for having denounced an ariſtocratic one, my unbounded attachment to your majeſty, and regard for your intereſt, have determined me to give in my reſignation as ſoon as M. de Narbonne has received his diſmiſſion. But I ſhall ever remain inviolably devoted to your majeſty's ſervice; and my chief ambition will ever be, to have it in my power to prove my reſpectful attachment *."

The king received this letter an hour before the *Garde des Sceaux* went to him from the committee.

* *Vide* Appendix, No. V.

At ten o'clock I received two letters from his majeſty: one was that which the committee had drawn up, in which the king, while he accepted of my reſignation, exacted that I ſhould continue the functions of my office until my ſucceſſor ſhould be appointed. The other letter was entirely from himſelf, full of expreſſions of kindneſs, and in the true ſtyle of Henry the Fourth. I would wiſh to tranſcribe it entirely; but I valued it too highly to run the riſk of loſing it in my flight; it remains at Paris, with ſeveral other letters from the king and queen: the box which contains them is buried ſix feet under ground in a garden. I hope that this precious depoſit will be one day reſtored to me, or at leaſt that it will not be loſt to my children. In the mean time, I muſt content myſelf with only tranſcribing part of his majeſty's letter, which is deeply engraven in my heart.

"I am ſorry that circumſtances oblige you to give in your reſignation: from what I have learned, I believe you acted wiſely; but I do not feel the leſs regret. I

had

had determined to exert myſelf in ſupporting you; but that abſurd man has brought things to ſuch a paſs that it ſeems impoſſible. I hope your ſervices will not be always loſt to me and to the ſtate; I may, one day, perhaps, be in a ſituation to derive advantage from them *."

The perſon who brought this packet, deſired me to go to the king as ſoon as poſſible.

I waited upon his majeſty before I had recovered the emotion occaſioned by his letter; and he received me with an air of ſadneſs, which ſo thoroughly overcame me, that I burſt into tears. He turned away to the window, where he remained ſome time ſilent, to give me time to compoſe myſelf; then approaching me with a look of kindneſs:

* " Je ſuis bien faché que les circonſtances vous ayent forcé de donner notre démiſſion; ce que j'apprends me prouve qu'en effet vous avez prit le bon parti; je n'en ai pas moins de regret. J'étois bien reſolu à deployer tout l'energie poſſible pour vous ſoutenir; mais ce diable d'homme a tellement tout brouillé qu'on n'y connoit plus rien.—J'eſpère que vos ſervices ne ſeront pas perdus pour moi ni pour l'état, et je compte bien les retrouver un jour."

" You

"You always wiſhed," ſaid he, "to give in your reſignation on the 15th of this month. You ſhall continue in your department, at leaſt, till then; and we muſt ſee next what can be done. Have you ſeen the *Garde des Sceaux* ?"

"No, ſire," anſwered I.

"I thought he had gone to tell you of Narbonne's diſmiſſion. He ſaid, when he parted from me, that he was going to your houſe."

"He probably went directly," anſwered I, "with your majeſty's orders to M. de Narbonne."

"Not at all," anſwered the king. "I ſent them by a footman. There, read the letter I wrote to him; it is not long."

The letter contained theſe few words:

"I hereby inform you, ſir, that I have appointed M. de Gravé to the war department; you will therefore give him acceſs to the papers belonging to your office."

* "Je vous préviens, monſieur, que je viens de nommer M. de Graves au départment de la guerre; vous lui remettra votre portefeuille."

"I have

"I have not ſent you the memorial of the aſſembly," reſumed the king, "becauſe I wiſhed to anſwer it immediately. It contains nothing new, and was even very ill written; ſo that the anſwer was not difficult."

"I am ſorry," ſaid I, "that your majeſty has taken ſo much trouble. I have been employed in drawing up an anſwer, which I have brought to ſhew your majeſty."

"That is much too long," ſaid the king, when he ſaw four pages of writing, "and therefore uſeleſs. Mine is ten times ſhorter. See if it won't do much better."

"Perfectly well, ſire," ſaid I, after having read it. I would not change a word."

"I am glad," anſwered he, "that you approve. Go, then, to the *Garde des Sceaux*, to have it copied in his office; and after I have ſigned it, he will counterſign it, and ſend it to the aſſembly."

This anſwer was, in ſubſtance, as follows:

"That the king did not find an article of accuſation, in the memorial addreſſed to him

him againſt me, that had not been included in the former accuſations, which the aſſembly had rejected by paſſing to the order of the day; and that therefore having no reaſon to adopt a different opinion of me from what the aſſembly entertained, he did not think proper to withdraw his confidence from me *."

I had this letter expedited for the aſſembly with all poſſible diligence, and it was ſent at the moment when the unexpected news was received of M. de Narbonne's diſmiſſion. Moſt unfortunately my reſignation was not then known, having been ſent too late to be inſerted in the newſpapers of that day; and no more was requiſite to inflame the Briſſotines, the Girondiſts, and the whole *Côté Gauche* of the aſſembly. At that very ſitting, Briſſot, availing himſelf of the preſent diſpoſition of the aſſembly, made a furious declamation againſt M. de Leſſart, which produced

* *Vide* Appendix, No. VI.

a decree

a decree of accuſation againſt that miniſter.

Without giving him time to make his defence, or examining into the truth of any of the accuſations ſo ſuddenly brought forth againſt him, this unfortunate and honeſt man was, in conſequence of this decree, conducted to the national court eſtabliſhed at Orleans. After remaining ſix months in the priſon of that court, without being brought to trial, he was transferred to Verſailles, the September following, by a detachment from Paris, and there maſſacred with the other priſoners.

In addition to the king's ſorrow on account of the afflictive events of this day, particularly the unjuſt accuſation of M. de Leſſart, a courier arrived the ſame evening from Vienna, who brought intelligence of the death of the emperor Leopold.

The Chevalier de Graves, now appointed miniſter of war, took his place in the council that day. His manners, although popular, were not of the oſtentatious, ca-

reſſing nature of thoſe that diſtinguiſhed M. de Narbonne, but his conduct and writings ſince the revolution, and his attending the popular aſſemblies in the different towns where he happened to be with his regiment, made him paſs for a zealous conſtitutionaliſt amongſt the Jacobins, and for an enraged Jacobin amongſt the Ariſtocrates; therefore his nomination did not hurt the king's popularity. In fact, the chevalier was neither a zealous conſtitutionaliſt nor a Jacobin; but he was, what many well-meaning people in France were at that time, miſled by the attraction of new ſyſtems, by perſonal diſcontent, or by views of ambition. People of this deſcription had formed a little ſyſtem of reformation ſuitable to their own fancies and ſituations; and as long as they had hopes that their own plans would be adopted, all was well. In the progreſs of the revolution, however, they became alarmed, and heartily regretted that they had ever aſſiſted it in the ſmalleſt degree: but being unwilling to retract, partly

partly from ſhame, and partly from fear, they yielded to the torrent.

Whatever were the motives which actuated M. de Graves, before he came into the council, he certainly ſhewed great attachment to the king, during his ſhort adminiſtration; which would have been ſtill ſhorter, had not his majeſty for ſome time refuſed to accept of his reſignation.

If the royaliſts had placed more confidence in him, he would certainly have ſerved them as far as was conſiſtent with the timidity of his character.

The king was reduced to the fatal neceſſity of forming a new miniſtry at a time when he had not the power of appointing a ſingle individual in whom he could place confidence. Senſible of the dangers which ſurrounded him, he now ſhewed evident anxiety about his ſituation. Inſtead of the contempt and indifference with which he had ſupported the outrages which he had hitherto been expoſed to, ſorrow and conſternation were ſtrongly marked on his

countenance during that ſad council of the 9th of March, which was the laſt at which I was preſent, and from which I retired, my heart impreſſed with the deepeſt melancholy.

CHAP. XX.

An impertinent letter which I received from M. Cayer de Gerville.—My explanation with him, and its conſequences.—M. Lacoſte called to the miniſtry.—His character.—M. Duport de Tertre, Cayer de Gerville, and Tarbé, their characters and diſmiſſion.—Dumourier called by M. de Leſſart.—Supplants him.—Character of M. de Leſſart.

WE were all ſincerely vexed at the decree of accuſation iſſued againſt M. de Leſſart; but M. Cayer de Gerville, always carried away by his violent and ſuſpicious temper, took it into his head that I was the voluntary cauſe of this misfortune, and that I had prevented my diſmiſſion from appearing in the Journal of the 9th of March. I did not give myſelf the trouble to combat his notion, as I hoped he

would become ſenſible of its injuſtice, upon cool reflection: but I found, by the receipt of the following note, a few days after, that he ſtill continued in the ſame diſpoſition of mind:

"SIR,

"After what has paſſed, you ought no longer to attend the council; and I give you notice, that if you appear there this evening, I ſhall immediately leave it."

I knew him to be very capable of this act of intemperance, and even of giving in his reſignation, on this pretext, with a patriotic oſtentation, which might have injured the king's affairs. This conſideration hindered me from taking any notice of the rudeneſs of M. de Gerville's note, which, being dictated by a man blinded by paſſion, did not merit the attention of a reaſonable perſon.

I carried my moderation to the length of even going to his houſe, in order to find out if he had not a more reaſonable motive for his intemperate behaviour than I had ſuppoſed.

ſuppoſed. My appearance rather ſurpriſed him.

"You ſeem not to have expected this viſit, ſir," ſaid I, ſmiling.

"I acknowledge I did not," anſwered he: "but I had no doubt of your being offended; and ſince you are come, I am willing to give you what ſatisfaction you pleaſe."

"You imagine, perhaps," ſaid I, "that I am come with an intention to challenge you?"

"If it be ſo," replied he, "I am at your commands."

"Explain to me, in the firſt place, ſir," ſaid I, "what your motive was for writing to me in ſuch an imperious ſtile."

"Becauſe I have been informed," replied he, "that the anſwer given by the king to your letter of reſignation, has had a very bad effect, particularly his order for your continuing your functions; and ſuch is the temper of the people on that ſubject, that if you were again to appear at the council, I

ſhould not be ſurpriſed to ſee it the cauſe of an inſurrection."

"Your reaſon is very good," ſaid I: "but you might have given it in two words, without putting yourſelf in a paſſion."

"You know my impetuoſity," rejoined he, "and alſo that I was extremely out of humour at your conduct with regard to poor de Leſſart. What, in the devil's name, could you mean by your unwillingneſs to have your reſignation made public at the ſame time with Narbonne's? I foreſaw what would be the conſequence; and you appeared, at one time, to have come over to our opinion: what could make you change your mind?"

"And who told you," anſwered I, "that I changed my mind? On the contrary, I ſent a copy of my reſignation to the writer of the Paris Journal, and deſired him to inſert it in his paper. What could I do more?"

"You

"You certainly were too late in ſending it," replied he.

"We went," reſumed I, "from the committee at three o'clock, and the journaliſt received my packet before four. Here is his anſwer, informing me that I was too late, as his Journal was already printed."

"You ought," ſaid he, "to have ſtopped the publication, and have cauſed another edition to be printed, with your reſignation."

"Yes," replied I; "but I did not receive his anſwer till nine o'clock in the morning."

"Ah! in that caſe I am in the wrong: but I adviſe you not to go this evening to the council."

"I am of your opinion," I anſwered; "and I am going to give the king notice, that he may not be ſurpriſed at my abſence."

I accordingly went to the king immediately, and gave him an account of what had paſſed. His majeſty approved of my conduct, and obſerved, with ſome truth,

that it was lucky my temper was leſs violent than M. Cayer de Gerville's.

Lacoſte, formerly firſt clerk of the marine in the department of the colonies, and afterwards ſent, in quality of the king's commiſſary, to eſtabliſh the new conſtitution in the Iſles du Vent, ſucceeded me in the marine department. His diſpute with M. de Behague, relative to their reſpective powers, was the cauſe of his being recalled into France. His denunciations againſt that governor, in the aſſembly and in the club of Jacobins, where he went upon his firſt arrival, and his low birth, gave to his nomination all the popularity which the circumſtances required. This man, ſo violent in his temper, and coarſe in his manners, ought never to have been raiſed from the ſphere in which he had before paſſed his life, as it was moſt certainly *that* in which he ſeemed beſt fitted to act. Like others of his rank, the circumſtance which he moſt admired in the revolution was, that it cleared the way to the firſt offices of the ſtate to all, without any other

other diſtinction than thoſe of talents and of virtue; two qualities in which few men are ſenſible of a deficiency. His attachment to the Jacobins, or rather his deſire to preſerve their good graces, led him into the indecent abſurdity of placing a pike in his hall, with a red cap upon it: but, with all that was faulty or ridiculous in his manners, Lacoſte was, at bottom, an honeſt man: he deteſted the cruelties of the revolution; he always behaved reſpectfully to the king, and gave his majeſty ſome proofs of attachment which required courage.

The three miniſters who remained in place from the 9th of March, were M. Tarbé, miniſter of finance; Cayer de Gerville, miniſter of the home department; and M. Duport du Tertre, *Garde des Sceaux*, who, after the decree of accuſation againſt M. de Leſſart, was entruſted with the buſineſs of the foreign department till another miniſter ſhould be appointed.

M. Duport du Tertre, whom the revolution had raiſed from the ſituation of clerk,

clerk, with a ſalary of twelve hundred livres, to the firſt dignity in the kingdom, was, from the beginning, and with good reaſon, the zealous partiſan of a revolution which had been ſo advantageous to him. M. de la Fayette, by whoſe influence he had been appointed miniſter, and all that part of the firſt aſſembly which went by the name of *Côté Gauche*, placed great confidence in him. Even after the diſſolution of that aſſembly, he continued in intimacy with ſome of the principal perſons who had compoſed it; namely, the Lameths, Barnave, and Adrian du Port, who were every day at his houſe: he did nothing without conſulting them.

The conſtitutionaliſts who formed the *Côté Gauche* * of the firſt aſſembly, became the *Côté Droit* of the ſecond, in which the *Côté Gauche* was compoſed of the moſt violent Jacobins, who aimed at the overthrow of monarchy, conſtitutional or not; and

* *Côté Gauche* and *Côté Droit* were names given to the two parties in the aſſembly; the ſecond denoting the ſupporters of government, the firſt the oppoſition.

there-

therefore attacked, with equal fury, the conſtitutional miniſters, and thoſe whom they ſuſpected of being attached to the ancient government. On this account M. Duport du Tertre had nearly as many enemies in the aſſembly as myſelf. He was obliged to give in his reſignation a week after my retreat, in ſpite of all his efforts to ſupport the conſtitution, to which he was more attached by gratitude than by eſteem. Meſſrs. Tarbé and Cayer de Gerville were obliged to do the ſame, becauſe they had adopted the fatal idea, that a miniſtry entirely compoſed of Jacobins, was the only one which was proper for that period; and they perſuaded the king and queen of this.

My nomination to the marine department had given great uneaſineſs to M. Duport du Tertre, who has ſince owned to me, that he looked upon me with an evil eye for ſome time, as he was convinced that I had only accepted of the marine department as a ſtep to the chancellorſhip. But he became one of my moſt zealous parti-

partiſans when he found that it was not from ambition that I entered adminiſtration; and, that ſo far from deſiring the place of any of my colleagues, I only thought of diſengaging myſelf from my own as ſoon as I could with honour.

Tarbé, formerly a clerk of the finances, was an intelligent, active, laborious, honeſt man, and entirely devoted to the king: he might have kept his place in adminiſtration, with the conſent of all parties, as he had never taken a ſtep, or uttered an expreſſion which could poſſibly give offence to any one. He had no great talents for ſpeaking, and drew up papers but indifferently; but he was mild, modeſt, and polite. He ſeemed much more impreſſed with the recollection of what he had been, than elated by the ſituation he had riſen to, and was no way anxious to impreſs others with the idea of his own importance. Entirely occupied with the duties of his office, which he was thought to be more capable of diſcharging than any other, it would have been fortunate that he had

continued in office; becauſe, in ſo doing, he would have rendered the king the eſſential ſervice of keeping out Claviere, who afterwards proved one of the moſt wicked and dangerous men of the revolution.

Cayer de Gerville was in his heart a republican; he deteſted and deſpiſed kings; and equally abhorred prieſts of all denominations, whom he accuſed of having, in all ages, been the apoſtles of falſehood, the propagators of fanaticiſm, and the promoters of civil wars and perſecution.

"I wiſh from my ſoul," ſaid he one day to us, coming out of the council, "that I could hold betwixt my finger and thumb that curſed race of vermin, and annihilate them with one crack."

Notwithſtanding this ſtrange ſpeech, he ſhewed no propenſity to cruelty in his actions: but he might really be conſidered as a very hot-headed man. In his opinion, the conſtitution had one very great fault; namely, that it retained ſomething of monarchy; but, as he had ſworn to obſerve

ſerve it, he was ſcrupulouſly faithful to his oath.

He was a member of the municipality of Paris; and the exerciſe of municipal ſovereignty over-heated his naturally ardent brain: *the people* was his inceſſant theme; and he declaimed, with peculiar violence and volubility, againſt ariſtocracy, nobility, emigration, and prieſts. He ſaw every where, but particularly at court, treaſons, plots, conſpiracies: in a word, he poſſeſſed all the characteriſtics of a ſtern republican; and, in this quality, enjoyed great popularity.

Soon after he entered the miniſtry, he did juſtice to the king's good qualities; and became ſo ſenſible of that prince's probity, the rectitude of his intentions, his moderation, and humanity, that he almoſt forgave him for being a king. The only fault he found in him, was his attachment to the Catholic faith, and to non-conſtitutional prieſts. But Cayer de Gerville's opinion of the queen was far from being ſo advan-

advantageous; he looked upon her as a haughty, perfidious, and wicked woman, who thought of nothing but of re-eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm; and his idea of her majeſty was ſuch, that when the miniſterial committee was held in the palace, he never would ſpeak with freedom, from a notion that the queen, or ſome of her ſpies, liſtened at the door, or behind the wainſcot: the ſmalleſt noiſe was ſufficient to confirm him in his ſuſpicions, and prevent his uttering another ſyllable during the whole time of the committee.

He was one day extremely offended by an anſwer which the king inattentively made him in the old regal ſtyle, which was now exploded. M. Cayer de Gerville had ſpontaneouſly undertaken a very laborious piece of buſineſs, merely in the view of being uſeful to his majeſty. After the council, he came and gave an account of it: on which the king ſaid, "*I permit you, ſir*, to preſent your memorial to me."

The miniſter was ſo much ſhocked with this anſwer, that he took up his pocket-

book, and abruptly left the king, without ſaying a ſingle word. He came immediately to pour forth his bad humour in the committee; and, after telling his colleagues what had juſt paſſed, he continued to repeat with indignation: "*I permit you to render me an eſſential ſervice; a pleaſant manner indeed of thanking a man! If I had had the memorial in my hands, I would have thrown it into the fire. However, he ſhall never ſet eyes on it.*"

The miniſter's inſolence had not eſcaped the king; but he was forced to bear with this, as with the other marks of diſreſpect which he daily received. Two days after, his majeſty deſired Cayer de Gerville to bring him the memorial: he did this in ſuch an obliging accent and manner, as entirely to overcome the miniſter's anger. He immediately brought the memorial; and the king was again reinſtated in his good graces.

Upon another occaſion, he treated Madame Elizabeth with great rudeneſs. This virtuous princeſs, whoſe life was dedicated

to

to piety and benevolence, had continual applications from the unfortunate. An unhappy nun had been particularly recommended to her protection; ſhe deſired to ſee Cayer de Gerville before he went to the council, intending to ſpeak to him in favour of the nun. He waited upon the princeſs; but, before ſhe had finiſhed what ſhe had to ſay, interrupting her abruptly, he ſaid, "It is aſtoniſhing, madam, that you ſet ſo little value upon the time of a miniſter, as to make him loſe half an hour in hearing the hiſtory of a nun: I have other buſineſs on my hands than the affairs of nuns; and you will forgive me, madam, when I tell you frankly, that I ſhall give myſelf as little trouble about this one as about others.

The mild princeſs, whoſe ears had never been wounded by ſo harſh an expoſtulation, was ſo much ſhocked and confounded, that ſhe ſuffered the miniſter to leave the apartment without attempting to reply.

Cayer de Gerville, finding that the popularity of the miniſtry daily decreaſed, ſaw no other means of retaining the little

he ſtill poſſeſſed perſonally, but that of giving in his reſignation. His retreat was followed by that of the *Garde des Sceaux*, who, having been chiefly ſupported by Cayer de Gerville's friendſhip and popularity, did not chooſe to remain alone expoſed to the attacks of his enemies, whoſe number every day augmented. He therefore announced, that he would give in his reſignation as ſoon as the accuſation againſt him was examined into.

This determination, which his friends took care to ſpread, accelerated the bringing of this buſineſs before the aſſembly; the accuſation was rejected, which, as his enemies obſerved, was rearing a golden bridge for his eſcape.

A month after he was elected, by a great majority of votes, *Accuſateur Public* of the criminal tribunal, in place of Robeſpierre, who reſigned the office without having ever fulfilled its functions. The conduct of this monſter has but too well ſhewn, that humanity was not his motive; the power of accuſing was no ſatisfaction,

unleſs he had alſo the power of deſtroying his victims.

Meſſrs. Duport du Tertre, Tarbé, and Cayer de Gerville, all gave in their reſignations between the 15th and 20th of March.

The new miniſtry was compoſed of M. Duranthon for the department of juſtice, M. de Graves for that of war, De la Coſte for the marine, de Claviere for that of the finances, and Dumourier for foreign affairs. The laſt, a month before his nomination, was at Niort, where he had been forced to take refuge from his creditors. M. de Leſſart being informed that he was the intimate friend of Genſonné, imagined that Dumourier's good offices might be of ſervice to him with this deputy, who was a member of the diplomatic committee, and one of M. de Leſſart's moſt inveterate perſecutors. In this hope, he wrote a miniſterial letter to Dumourier, who had long ſolicited an employment in the diplomatic line, and deſired him to come immediately to Paris, where he would be informed of

the king's intentions; and, at the ſame time, ſent ſix thouſand livres to enable him to clear off the debts which he might have contracted in Poitou.

Dumourier haſtened to Paris, not doubting but the ſituation of miniſter plenipotentiary, at leaſt, was intended for him. Upon his arrival, he flew to M. de Leſſart. The miniſter told him, that nothing was yet decided; but that a change would ſoon take place in the diplomatic body; and, as he intended to propoſe him to the king, for one of the places which was to be vacated, he wiſhed to have ſome converſation with him firſt, that he might be able to judge in what ſituation his ſervices would be moſt uſeful. M. de Leſſart then ſpoke to him of the oppoſition he experienced in the aſſembly from ſome of the principal deputies. At the name of Genſonné, Dumourier interrupted the miniſter.

"As for him," ſaid he, "he is my intimate friend, and entirely at my diſpoſal; I not only take in hand to put an end to his attacks againſt you, but even to bring him

him to receive your commands to-morrow morning, if you pleaſe."

M. de Leſſart readily agreed to this propoſal. Accordingly Genſonné accompanied Dumourier next day; expreſſed much regret at having miſunderſtood the miniſter's intentions, which had led him to oppoſe his meaſures; and, at length, promiſed entirely to change his conduct.

M. de Leſſart was very well ſatisfied with this interview; conceived great hopes of benefit from it, and exulted in the lucky idea which had ſtruck him of calling Dumourier to Paris. The general was not long of perceiving this, and did not fail to avail himſelf of it, with his uſual addreſs. On his third viſit to the miniſter, he expreſſed a fear of being arreſted by his creditors if he remained longer in Paris. There was no means of retaining him, but by paying his debts, which were pretty conſiderable; and the neceſſary ſum was taken from the fund of ſecret expences, which was at the miniſter's diſpoſal.

Some days after, Genſonné and the other friends which Dumourier had in the aſſembly, gave him to underſtand that it would be an eaſier matter for him to ſucceed M. de Leſſart than to ſupport him; and, in this inſtance, as in many others, ambition triumphed over gratitude.

M. de Leſſart's talents, without being ſtriking, were greatly above mediocrity; he had a penetrating and juſt underſtanding, and an upright mind, notwithſtanding his ambition, which ſometimes miſled him. Perhaps he would have had energy of character, had he enjoyed a better ſtate of health; for he was capable of adopting vigorous meaſures; but, unleſs they were put in execution immediately, a nervous attack, to which he was extremely ſubject, was ſufficient to get the better of them.

He had long been the friend, the favourite, and admirer of M. Necker: he acknowledged, however, and bitterly lamented the faults of that miniſter's laſt adminiſtration; but thoſe very faults appeared in the eyes of friendſhip the errors of virtue.

"M. Necker,"

"M. Necker," ſaid he, "does not know mankind; and his great miſtake is in judging of the hearts of others by his own."

M. de Leſſart was neither a republican, nor a conſtitutionaliſt, but ſincerely attached to the king, whoſe virtues he revered; and, to the laſt moment, he gave his majeſty every mark of zeal and fidelity that was in his power. He may be reproached, like all who compoſed the miniſtry at that time, with having continued to diſcharge the functions of his department after the king's departure for Varennes, and during his captivity. But it is preſumable, that his majeſty was ſatisfied with the motives which had induced the miniſters to that conduct, though contrary to the orders he had left at his departure; becauſe he reſtored them all to his confidence afterwards, and was very much affected on account of the decree of accuſation iſſued againſt M. de Leſſart.

CHAP. XXI.

The account of my adminiſtration given in to the aſſembly.—It is printed, and diſtributed over the kingdom.—Diſcontent of the Jacobins.

MY firſt care, on retiring from the miniſtry, was to get ready the account of my adminiſtration, which the aſſembly had a right to exact, and which the conſtitution allowed a month to prepare.

I was earneſtly ſolicitous to ſhew, by an authentic act, and in a manner which would no way commit the king, all the errors of the new conſtitution, and the evils which aroſe from them in the department entruſted to me; therefore, far from taking advantage of the delay which the conſtitution granted, I laid my account before the aſſembly on the 28th of March, thirteen days after my reſignation. I added to this account an extract of the verbal proceſſes of

the principal inſurrections and mutinies which had taken place in the ſea-ports, and on board the veſſels, none of which had been puniſhed. I ſubjoined copies of the letters which I received from navy officers, containing their motives of reſignation. I regarded this ſupplement as a neceſſary and proper refutation of the calumnies which were ſpread againſt the marine body, accuſed of ariſtocracy, and of favouring deſpotiſm. I ſuppreſſed the ſignatures, that no individual might be brought into danger. Six thouſand copies were immediately printed, and one ſent to every member of the aſſembly; a certain number to all the different departments, and to the principal municipalities of the kingdom. The remainder was diſtributed in Paris.

In this publication, I laid open, without reſerve, the fatal conſequences of the unreſtrained power arrogated by the clubs. The Jacobins were the more violently irritated as I brought ſuch inconteſtible proofs of every circumſtance, that the truth could not be doubted. This publication was not neceſſary

ceſſary to draw upon me the animadverſion of the Jacobins, whoſe anger I had long before incurred; and I ſhould certainly have felt the effects of their rage, if the marine committee had been able to diſcover the leaſt error in my calculations: but luckily they were equally exact with my narrative. I ſhall here give this memorial, not only as being the moſt important act of my miniſtry, but as it is alſo the only piece of the kind which has been publiſhed.

A ſtatement, addreſſed to the national aſſembly by M. de Bertrand de Moleville, late miniſter of the marine, on the 27th of March 1792.

"I might limit myſelf, by preſenting to the national aſſembly an account of thoſe particulars only which they have the right of exacting from me; but I have reſolved to lay before them all the particulars of my conduct, and the motives of my actions, during the whole time that I was entruſted with the marine department.

"The

" The expenditure of money, which is generally the principal object of reſponſibility, was, I muſt ſay, during my adminiſtration, the circumſtance of ſmalleſt importance ; I ſhall therefore, in this memorial, give what regards accounts ſeparately. Thoſe of a miniſter of marine are extremely ſimple, becauſe he does not direct the expenditure at the ports; he is only reſponſible for the contracts which he makes perſonally, or for thoſe which he agrees to. He muſt likewiſe account for all expences which he anthorizes to be made, and for the quarterly diſtribution of the funds. The adminiſtrators who reſide in the ports, in the fleet, and in the colonies, are reſponſible that the funds which they are entruſted with ſhall be exactly diſtributed. I here lay before you the accounts which I have ſettled, and thoſe of the contracts which I have concluded. All are conformable to the eſtimate which was fixed, according to the ordinary and extraordinary valuations of the different articles, and of the funds which were aſſigned. I have not only never

never exceeded the eſtimate, but, on the contrary, have expended leſs than I was authorized to do, upon all thoſe articles on which a ſaving could be made. At a time when the diſpoſition of the maritime powers could give us no uneaſineſs, and when the demands of the war department were immenſe, this meaſure, which was prompted by the pureſt patriotiſm, and approved of by the king, produced, during the five months I was in office, an important ſaving.

" I ſhall ſay no more upon a ſubject which can ſo eaſily be verified by an examination of the facts. I come now to the moſt eſſential parts of my adminiſtration; and this ſhall form the laſt anſwer I ſhall make to the reproaches which have been thrown out againſt me; for having now acquired the right to ſpeak the whole truth, I ſhall conceal nothing.

" From the moment I entered into adminiſtration, and during the ſhort time which I continued in it, I have ſeen the ſources of the wealth of the nation drained, our principal colony laid waſte, the others

in

in a ſtate of diſcontent or inſurrection, our trade decreaſing, our navy diſorganized, our docks, arſenals, and ſhipping preſenting the frightful appearance of want of diſcipline, of anarchy, and contempt of the laws.

"The cauſe of theſe evils was known to all. Thoſe who ought to obey, had dared to threaten; and thoſe who ought to command, were deprived of all authority, and were loaded with inſults with impunity. I ſay with impunity, becauſe there is no example of any one having been puniſhed on account of the inſurrections in the fleet or in the harbours, or for the mutinies excited againſt the naval officers. This will be proved, to your conviction, by the papers which are annexed to my account; and you will find that the moſt lawful acts of authority were conſidered as inſults by thoſe who had ſuddenly paſſed from a ſtate of neceſſary ſubjection to one of entire independance. The clubs, which are corporations of a kind much more powerful than thoſe which the conſtitution aboliſhed, have

have exerciſed, in all our harbours, a fatal influence which none of the conſtituted authorities can reſiſt; for the workmen who receive daily pay, the clerks, the ſuperintendents, and the ſubordinate officers, inſtead of being entirely occupied by their buſineſs, have ceaſed to obey the government which employed them, and have become dangerous inſtruments of ſedition. What muſt be the conſequence, when ſuch perſons are at once converted into reformers, political orators, and cenſurers of the adminiſtration? What muſt become of public authority, when each individual exerciſes it? How are orders to be iſſued, when the inferiors proſcribe, inſult, and put to flight their ſuperiors?

"All theſe facts are of ſuch public notoriety, that I have no fear of being accuſed of exaggerating them. I ſhall add to the papers which prove the truth of this memorial, ſome of leſſer note, becauſe it is my duty to conceal nothing.

"It will not be forgotten, that between the two remarkable revolts againſt the principal

cipal officers, between the period at which M. d'Albert was inſulted, and when M. de la Jaille was impriſoned, at the arrival of the Leopard at Breſt, a navy clerk, who was then procureur of the municipality, pronounced a public diſcourſe, in which he baſely calumniated and menaced the whole navy, which was then entire, none of the officers having at that time abandoned the ſervice. This ſcandalous ſpeech was denounced in the conſtituent aſſembly, but the man who pronounced it became afterwards a member of the legiſlative body; and in the beginning of laſt December he wrote to the municipality of Breſt in theſe terms, on mentioning me:

"'We wait for the impoſtor without fear. You did well to accuſe and denounce him.... You will ſoon ſee how we ſhall treat him.... We deſpiſe the Marignys and Bertrands,' &c. &c. *

"It

* This letter was communicated by the municipality of Breſt to M. de Marigny, who informed me of it; and I received likewiſe, at the ſame time, two copies of it. I have

"It is this man * who, after ſuch a letter, has not heſitated to become the reporter of theſe denunciations, which he himſelf encouraged and procured.

"In entering into the miniſtry, I found the navy in this wretched condition. The patience of the officers was exhauſted, but they continued brave, zealous, and patriotic.. What ought I to do? Was it proper for the king's miniſter to increaſe the diſ-

been reproached for not mentioning this (1): but how is it poſſible to miſtake the motive of my ſilence? Being completely convinced that the accuſations againſt me were unfounded, I naturally wiſhed that the reporter ſhould be a perſon whom no one could ſuſpect of being too favourable to me. Such was my wiſh. Was it not accompliſhed even beyond my hopes?

* This violent patriot, whoſe name was Cavelier, came ſecretly to London in the year 1794, with the deſign of obtaining money from the Engliſh government, offering to have the port of Breſt burnt, or delivered up to the Engliſh. I was informed of his arrival and of his intention, and gave immediate notice of it to Mr. Windham, who expreſſed the ſame horror which I had felt at this intimation. I aſſured him of the infamous character of this fellow, upon whom no dependence could be put; the conſequence of which was, that Cavelier was ordered to quit the kingdom.

(1) *Vide* Appendix, No. VII.

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ſatisfaction, by encouraging informations, calumnies, and inſurrections? Was it his duty to obey the inſurgents in the ſea-ports, or to conform himſelf to the ſpirit and letter of the conſtitution, and to endeavour to re-eſtabliſh order and diſcipline, by putting the laws in execution againſt all who infringed them? This is what I have done; and thoſe who reproached me with breaking the laws, by granting furloughs, have forgotten that I have juſtified each by the very words of thoſe laws; and the three which were thought moſt reprehenſible, were found, on examination, to be as conformable ſe to the laws as the reſt. In fact, there is no example of a knight of Malta being refuſed, in time of peace, leave of abſence to execute the ſervice of his order, becauſe the cruiſing of Malteſe veſſels in the Mediterranean was found of uſe to our trade in that ſea; and M. de Nieul, inſpector of the marines, never having been employed ſince the year 1789, and it not being poſſible to employ him till the new organization of the army had taken place, he had no occaſion for

a written permiſſion to abſent himſelf; for he was in the ſituation of an unemployed general officer, therefore the leave of abſence which I gave him was neither requiſite nor written with all the forms, and was only requeſted by him that I might know where he was, in caſe of my having occaſion to tranſmit the king's orders to him.

"I have likewiſe been reproached for not having informed the legiſlative body of the diſordered and abandoned ſtate in which the harbour of Breſt was; and with having written to the editor of the *Moniteur*, on the 14th of November, that no naval officer had quitted his poſt. It was, without doubt, forgotten that my letter was an anſwer to the editor, who had made a falſe allegation in his paper. He had ſtated, in the preceding number, that I had requeſted to be heard in the aſſembly, to mention the new meaſures which the king had adopted, relative to the deſertion of the officers in my department. I anſwered, as I ought, that I had not accuſed the naval officers of any new emigration, becauſe the fact was,

that

that ſince my being in adminiſtration, not one of them had quitted his poſt. And if the author of the obſervations addreſſed to the king, upon my conduct, had taken the trouble to look over the papers which were annexed to the report of the naval committee, he would have found, in page 26, an extract of the review of the 1ſt of October, and in the laſt page, an extract of that of the 20th of November, in both of which the number of officers abſent without leave was ſtated to be two hundred and ſeventy-one. He muſt then have been convinced that I was fully authoriſed to aſſert, upon the 14th of November, that ſince my entrance into adminiſtration, no naval officer had quitted his poſt. He might have remembered, that one of the firſt acts of my adminiſtration was to propoſe to the king to recall all abſent officers, by a letter addreſſed to the commandants of the ſea-ports, beginning with theſe words:

"*I am informed, ſir, that the emigrations among the naval officers increaſe daily.*

"If he had recollected this letter, of which the national aſſembly were informed, and which was printed in the public newſpapers, he muſt, without doubt, have perceived, that the reproach of having concealed the emigration of the naval officers was too palpably unjuſt, even to have been pronounced againſt me by the legiſlative body *.

"I flattered myſelf, that by checking all diſturbances, by puniſhing all diſobedience of orders, and by preventing thoſe acts of violence, which made the preſence of the naval officers in the ſea-ports dangerous to themſelves, and uſeleſs for the ſervice, that I ſhould at length enable them to do their duty with the ſame firmneſs, with which, for two years, they had endured the reproaches, the ſuſpicions, and threats with

* Theſe are not the only miſtakes which the author of the obſervations addreſſed to the king has fallen into. He accuſes me *of having granted permiſſions of abſence, although my predeceſſor had poſitively ſuſpended them on the 15th of Auguſt.* But the fact is exactly the reverſe; for in one month from the 15th of Auguſt, my predeceſſor granted leave of abſence, or a prolongation of abſence, to twenty-two officers.

which

which they were loaded. I was thoroughly ſenſible of the difficulties of ſuch an undertaking, but I was not to be diſconcerted by perſonal abuſe or by ſecret plots. Theſe attacks I conſidered as honourable proofs of my zeal for the public ſervice: but my courage and my exertions were ineffectual; for I could only act by the power of government, and according to the law. But government was no longer reſpected, and the laws were violated with impunity; it was therefore impoſſible for me to attack a ſingle abuſe, without exciting outcries and accuſations which were always ſtrongly ſupported. The firſt impreſſion is ever againſt the accuſed, eſpecially when he is a miniſter; and in theſe wretched times, no man can be a miniſter without being inſtantly ſuſpected of error, of wilful wrong, and of want of patriotiſm.

"In vain I invoked the vengeance of the laws againſt thoſe who attacked and wounded M. de la Jaille. All Breſt knew thoſe who committed this outrage, which was perpetrated at mid-day, in the preſence of a thou-

ſand witneſſes. The proceedings againſt the criminals commenced, and decrees were paſſed; but the execution of thoſe decrees was ſuſpended. The villains were protected by powerful demagogues, who terrified and controuled the miniſters.

"I attempted to ſuppreſs the inſolence, diſorder, and want of ſubordination, which reigned in our arſenals; but every effort was ineffectual; for the factious ſpirit of party and licentiouſneſs annihilates all authority. All œconomy and regularity is at an end; and the loſs of time, and the waſte of materials, may be computed at ſeveral millions, from the impoſſibility of puniſhing or diſmiſſing thoſe workmen, overſeers, ſubordinate officers, and clerks, who were turbulent orators, and who were protected by the clubs.

"In the ſhipping, the confuſion was of a different kind, but equally impoſſible to be remedied.

"A new form of trial has been eſtabliſhed for thoſe who commit offences on board a ſhip. This form will, perhaps, an-

ſwer very well in other times, when light is more generally diffuſed, and when the true principles of a free conſtitution are familiarly known by all. But experience has demonſtrated, that, where the minds of men are new to liberty, and conſequently unable to diſtinguiſh it from licentiouſneſs, a maritime jury will not ſucceed in the manner expected by the conſtituent aſſembly. The appendix, which is added to this memorial, containing many deciſions of juries, will leave no doubt upon this fact.

" We need ſeek no other cauſe for the naval officers abandoning the ſervice. Thoſe who have ſent in their reſignations, and yet remain in France, have alleged no other motives in their letters to me; copies of which I think it my duty to lay before the national aſſembly. It appears by the ſentiments expreſſed in theſe letters, that there is not one officer who is not ready to ſhed the laſt drop of his blood for his country, if he did not dread the loſs of his honour, ever connected with the honour of the French flag.

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"The legiſlative body will diſſipate this well grounded apprehenſion, by taking immediate and effectual meaſures to eſtabliſh order, diſcipline, and ſubmiſſion to the laws: this is the only means of ſaving the French navy from the deſtruction with which it is threatened, and of preventing the epoch of its new formation being that of its total diſſolution.

"In the merchant ſervice, there will be found all that can be effected by zeal and patriotiſm; but, unfortunately, it is only by great labour and long experience, that the talents requiſite in the different ranks can be acquired. Tourville and Duguai-trouin were not the work of a day; they were formed by dangers and battles.

"But let us ſuppoſe, that the merchant ſervice was able to furniſh the ſtate with a ſufficient number of able officers, without obſtructing commerce and endangering the ſafety of the merchant ſhips. How are theſe new officers to be obeyed, if the aſſembly does not adopt the neceſſary means to repreſs mutiny? How can the commanders,

manders, whoever they are, be reſponſable, in this profeſſion, if there is not the moſt immediate implicit obedience? The ſlighteſt heſitation in executing an order, or in obeying a ſignal, may be ſufficient to endanger the ſafety of the ſtate! It is unneceſſary for me to obſerve, that the firſt meaſure to be taken is, to ſuppreſs, in all the ſea-port towns, thoſe deliberating corporations, which were proſcribed by the conſtituent aſſembly, which have had the power of annihilating all that confidence, reſpect, and ſubmiſſion, which are due from the inferior towards the ſuperior officers.

"I ſhall not enlarge upon the ſhare I have had in the government of the colonies. The aſſembly already know the diſaſters which have taken place there, and the melancholy conſequences which have followed. Both at St. Domingo, and at Martinico, as in France, all the evils have ariſen from the diſorganiſation of the government, from the audacity of factious men, and from inſurrections being unpuniſhed.

puniſhed. I have exerted myſelf, by making repeated demands and complaints to this aſſembly, even to importunity, to have the misfortunes of the colonies remedied; and I have at leaſt the conſolation of knowing, that they were not owing to me.

"Laſtly, there is another truth, which is important, though little known, that I ought to atteſt and publiſh. During the five months and a half in which I have been in the miniſtry, I have never ſeen the king vary one moment from his fidelity to the principles of the conſtitution. I ſhall mention, in ſupport of this aſſertion, a fact which recently occurred, and which made ſo great an impreſſion upon my colleagues, that they cannot have forgotten it.

"Towards the end of laſt month, a very delicate and important affair was brought before the council. There were two ways of acting; the one would occaſion a very conſiderable increaſe of the power of the crown, without exciting any diſcontent, becauſe

becauſe it was agreeable to the general wiſh. The other was the way more exactly conformable to the letter and ſpirit of the conſtitution. The king, without waiting for the advice of his miniſters, did not heſitate a moment in deciding for the latter; and he ſignified his opinion in theſe remarkable words: *The conſtitution is to be faithfully executed, and we are never to attempt to increaſe the powers of the crown.* What an example to the conſtituted authorities! And how much is it to be wiſhed for the good of the public, that all of them ſhould confine their powers as ſcrupulouſly within the bounds that are preſcribed!

"I ſubmit theſe reflections to the wiſdom of the national aſſembly. They are ſuggeſted to me by the pureſt love of my country. May my ſucceſſor, happier than me, ſee true patriotiſm triumph over the paſſions and falſe opinions which I had to combat *!

(Signed) DE BERTRAND."

* *Vid.* Appendix, No. VIII.

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This declaration, which was printed and directed to each member of the aſſembly, contains the moſt poſitive contradiction of all the accuſations thrown out againſt me in the memorial addreſſed to the king. It was induſtriouſly ſpread through the whole kingdom as a challenge to any of my enemies to anſwer it: but as no one attempted its refutation, the abſurd calumny of my having favoured the emigration of the naval officers, by paying them their appointments at Coblentz, and by granting to many the liberty of abſenting themſelves, was forgotten for a time.

The Jacobins, however, ſtill honoured me by their animadverſions. My name was never pronounced in the club without being accompanied with the epithets of infamous or villainous. The ſole crime which they accuſed me of was being a member of the chimerical Auſtrian committee; and to make the exiſtence of this committee credited, factious men publiſhed daily pretended diſcoveries of treaſonable

deſigns and imaginary plots, in order to enrage and miſlead the people.

It was not till the September following that the infamous Hebert, in the account which he publiſhed of the maſſacres of the priſoners at Orleans and Verſailles, renewed the charges againſt me which had been begun by Cavelier, Rouhier, &c.; and he had the effrontery to ſupport them by a public confeſſion, which he aſſerted I made at the moment of my death; for I was included by him among the victims of this horrid maſſacre; and the relation of my puniſhment, accompanied with my laſt will, was not the leaſt intereſting part of his Journal.

It will appear, in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, that there was a ſtrong reaſon for this falſehood *.

* An old French navy officer, who was caſhiered by a court-martial, and declared unworthy and incapable of ſerving the king, was condemned to be impriſoned for twenty years, has juſt publiſhed a work, the object of which is, without doubt, to prove that he is worthy and capable of ſerving the republic, not only in the rank of *contre-amiral*, which he now holds, but in that of admiral in chief, of which he appears to be ambitious. This work is entitled *Precis*

des

des Evénémens de la Guerre Maritime, des Cauſes de la Deſtruction de la Marine Françaiſe, et des Moyens de la retablir. The author's name is Y. J. Kerguelin. This admiral, worthy, by his impoſtures, of being the echo, and even the continuator of the journaliſt Hebert (1), repeats, from the relation of the maſſacres of Verſailles, "that I facilitated the emigration of the general officers, and the other naval officers; and that I had preſented a barren liſt of a corps, the individuals of which were at Coblentz, though they were paid as if at Toulon, Breſt, Rochefort, or Paris." He adds, "that being the ſlave of a corrupt court, I was only fitted to promote its criminal views, in reſiſting the progreſs of the revolution, and in reſtraining the courageous efforts of the friends of liberty." Finally, he imputes to me "the rapid riſe of General Truguet, an inexperienced youth, who was ſuddenly promoted to the rank of *contre-amiral.*"

If I choſe to make uſe of ſome notes which I had occaſion to peruſe, reſpecting Y. J. Kerguelin, amidſt thoſe which were kept in my office, concerning naval officers, who had been likewiſe caſhiered, though for ſmaller offences, I could eaſily ſhew that it is prudent to diſtruſt his aſſertions, even when official. I ſhould only have to quote the report which he made of his firſt expedition to Terra Auſtralis, of which he gave a moſt ſeducing deſcription, although he never ſaw the country, except through a ſpying-glaſs. Every thing which he narrated, relative to the rich culture of the lands, the induſtry, intelligence, and mild manners of the inhabitants, is flatly contradicted by M. de Roſily the elder, who commanded the armed cutter with twenty men, which was ſent there, and who aſſerts, that he had diſcovered, on this dry rocky country, no marks of cultivation, and no inhabitants; and that there were only found ſome ſea-birds, which were ſo tame, that they allowed themſelves to be taken by the hand, and the marks of one quadruped of the ſmalleſt

(1) Writer of a Journal known under the title of *Le Père Duchêne.*

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ſpecies. This deſcription, which is preciſely conformable to that of Captain Cook, will determine in what manner the reports and aſſertions of Y. J. Kerguelin are to be explained by thoſe who wiſh to arrive at the truth. Thus, when he aſſerts, "that as the ſlave of a corrupt court, I was only fitted to promote its criminal views," that means, that at the time when I entered into adminiſtration, there was no court; and that the moſt virtuous and beſt-intentioned king was, in his own palace, as is known to all Europe, the only ſlave. When he advances, "that the emigrated officers were paid at Toulon, Breſt," &c. &c. we muſt conclude that none were paid. Indeed it was impoſſible that any could be paid, without ſending a certificate of their reſidence to the paymaſter, who was perſonally reſponſible, and who never could receive any orders upon this ſubject from the miniſter. When he reproaches me "with having preſented a barren liſt of naval officers, and of having promoted Truguet prematurely to the rank of *contre-amiral*," thoſe aſſertions mean, that the liſt publiſhed during my adminiſtration had been drawn up and ordered by my predeceſſor, and that General Truguet was not named to the rank of *contre-amiral* till ſome months after my retreat. Finally, when he accuſes me "of having deſtroyed the navy," it is then clear that I had no ſhare in it; and that it ought to be imputed to the cauſes which I have explained in my ſtatement, and to the negligence of the naval committee, in not framing ſuch decrees as were neceſſary for re-eſtabliſhing order and diſcipline in this department. This was affirmed by the miniſter himſelf, in his report upon the ſtate of France, pronounced before the aſſembly July 10, 1792, that is to ſay, four months after my retreat. The miniſter of juſtice, ſpeaking in the name of all his colleagues, announced, "that every thing was unſettled in the naval department, when M. La Coſte entered into it; and that things were ſtill in the ſame ſtate, becauſe, in ſpite of the efforts of the miniſter and of his prede-

ceſſors, to obtain from the aſſembly ſupplementary laws, to regulate the organization of this department, none had yet been decreed."

After having demonſtrated, that in believing the *contre-amiral* Kerguelin, you are farther from the truth than in believing the very reverſe of what he affirms, I cannot help congratulating myſelf upon his having abuſed my adminiſtration. With regard to his merit and military talents, although, before the ſentence of the court-martial, which declared him unworthy and incapable of ſerving, he was conſidered by his commanders and his equals as an unſkilful officer, and ignorant in his profeſſion, yet his promotion to the rank of *contre-amiral* makes it impoſſible to doubt his having become ſuddenly as able as he thinks himſelf.

CHAP. XXII.

M. de Fleurieu named governor to the Prince Royal, but not inveſted in the office.—After my reſignation, the king deſires me to keep up a correſpondence by letters with him.—The object of this.—His majeſty conſigns to me the direction of certain affairs, which had been formerly under the ſuperintendance of M. de Leſſart.—Spies employed by the tribunal of police.—Arrangement made with one of the principal members of the tribunal.—Meaſures equally expenſive and uſeleſs.—Danton paid by the court.—The new miniſters oblige the king to declare war, much againſt his inclination.

THE appointment of the king's houſehold was a meaſure which could be delayed without any inconveniency: but it was not ſo with regard to the appointment of a governor to the

Dauphin, or, to ſpeak in the conſtitutional ſtile, the Prince Royal. The firſt, or conſtituent aſſembly, had ſhewed an inclination to arrogate this power to themſelves, or to render it null in the hands of the king, by tranſmitting a liſt made up by them, out of which he was to chooſe one for that office: but the numerous and abſurd liſt which they formed appeared ſo ridiculous in the eyes of the public, that they thought it beſt to adjourn the exerciſe of this pretended right; from which period, to that of their diſſolution, the multiplicity and importance of the affairs brought before them, had prevented the aſſembly from renewing their pretenſions on this head. But as they never had formally abandoned them, it was highly probable that the ſecond aſſembly might have made this claim, if the king, by deferring the appointment of a governor to the Prince Royal beyond the period fixed, had given reaſon to ſuſpect that he harboured doubts of his own right.

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A few days before my reſignation, therefore, I gave it to the king as my opinion, that he ought to name the governor without farther delay. His majeſty felt the force of this; but ſtill he was embarraſſed how to act.

"Who can I chooſe?" ſaid he. "Do you know any perſon, proper for the ſituation, whom the Jacobins would not deteſt? And I would rather that my ſon remained without a governor, than expoſe the worthy man, whom I ſhould appoint, to the inſults of the people, and perhaps to aſſaſſination. On the other haad," continued he, "I am ſenſible, that if I do not appoint a governor myſelf, the Jacobins may probably propoſe Condorcet, the Abbé Sieyes, or ſome other ſuch unprincipled perſon. Have you any one in view?"

"No, ſire," anſwered I; "I thought that you had already conſidered the matter, and that your choice was fixed. I ought, however, to inform your majeſty, that at the time the miniſters were occupied

in forming your houſehold eſtabliſhment, M. de Fleurieu appeared to them the moſt eligible perſon, as he was favourably looked upon by the Jacobins, upon account of the moderation of his conduct to the clerk Bonjour."

"M. de Fleurieu, I think, would ſuit us," ſaid the king. "He is very well informed, and he is a man of probity, on whom I could rely. There is nothing againſt him but his timidity and exceſſive gentleneſs. But is it certain that he would accept of the ſituation?"

"I do not imagine," replied I, "that the miniſters informed themſelves of that: but if you deſire it, I will ſee M. de Fleurieu, and find out his own inclinations, without letting him know that I am commiſſioned by your majeſty."

"Do ſo," ſaid the king; "and do not delay to inform me."

I went directly from the palace to M. de Fleurieu. I gave, as a pretext for my viſit, the deſire I had to talk to him concerning his penſion, which I told him I hoped to

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have fixed before I quitted adminiſtration. I then inſenſibly led the converſation to the ſubject of the Prince Royal's governor. I ſaid that he ought to have a view to that ſituation, for which he was very well qualified. He anſwered, with modeſty, that it was the place in the kingdom which would moſt flatter his ambition; but that he was ſo far from thinking himſelf qualified, that he would not preſume to place himſelf in the liſt of candidates. By all he ſaid, it was eaſy to perceive that he would accept of the offer with great pleaſure; and I returned immediately to the king, who was very well pleaſed with this intelligence.

The nomination of M. de Fleurieu to the place of governor to the Prince Royal was deferred till the end of March; and the king informed the aſſembly of it by a letter, which they immediately referred to a committee. The opinion which I tranſmitted to his majeſty was, that without waiting for the report of the committee, M. de Fleurieu ſhould be

inſtalled in his new ſituation, and begin to diſcharge the duties belonging to it, that the aſſembly might not imagine its right in this nomination was different from what the conſtitution allotted them, reſpecting the king's nomination of miniſters, in which they had no negative. I repreſented alſo to M. de Fleurieu, that if he did not take poſſeſſion immediately, the king's prerogative would be attacked; for any heſitation on ſuch a point would encourage the pretenſions of the aſſembly. My advice, however, was not followed.

M. de Fleurieu had no uneaſineſs on this ſubject. He had cauſed ſome of the members of the committee to be ſpoken to, who, as he heard, were favourably diſpoſed to him; he was convinced, on the whole, that the report would be made in the courſe of the week, and that he had no obſtacles to apprehend. However, the report, as I had foreſeen, was put off from week to week, upon various pretences, and was never made; ſo that no other advantage was derived from

the nomination of M. de Fleurieu but that of preventing the aſſembly from appointing a governor to the Prince Royal. It is fortunate that M. de Fleurieu was not inveſted in that office before the 10th of Auguſt, as in that caſe he would probably have augmented the number of illuſtrious victims ſacrificed on that fatal day; and France would have loſt in him a man, eſtimable for his learning and talents, and for the purity of his principles.

On quitting the miniſtry, I expreſſed my regret that I could not pay my duty to his majeſty with the ſame aſſiduity I wiſhed, without creating ſuſpicions that might be dangerous to him; I therefore propoſed only to attend his levee every Sunday; and this I thought would be expedient, becauſe, if I never appeared there at all, it would be immediately believed that he ſaw me in ſecret.

The king approved of this, and at the ſame time gave me the ſuperintendance of an operation which was firſt contrived and ſet a-going by Alexander Lameth, afterwards directed by M. de Leſſart, and in the preſent

preſent circumſtances ſeemed more neceſſary than ever. The object of this was to obtain a minute knowledge of the public diſpoſition, by the means of certain perſons called obſervers, who were choſen and employed for that purpoſe.

At this time they were in number thirty-five. Some attended the tribunes of the aſſembly, others the Jacobin club and that of the Cordeliers, whilſt others were ordered to mix in the various groups who attended in the Palais Royal, the Thuilleries, the principal coffee-houſes, and the cabarets. Their buſineſs was to ſupport, by their applauſe, all conſtitutional and royaliſt motions, and to hiſs, and even inſult, whoever propoſed a meaſure contrary to the intereſt of the king and the conſtitution. Their cuſtom was, to give in a daily report of whatever they ſaw or heard. It was the province of the moſt intelligent, who were higheſt paid, to combat every ſeditious motion in the various ſocieties. Giles, a ſubaltern officer in the *gard nationale*, entirely devoted to the king,

took in the above reports, and delivered them to M. de Leſſart, from whom he received directions reſpecting the operations of the following day. Theſe men were alſo employed to ſtick up, during the night, placarts of a conſtitutional or royaliſt nature, according to the circumſtances.

The king, by this means, knew all that paſſed in Paris, and might have derived advantages from it at leaſt equal to the expence of the whole operation, which amounted to 8000 livres a month, had it not been for his averſion to thoſe vigorous meaſures which the preſent emergence required: but that averſion was ſo great, that the information he received only ſerved to alarm and torment him.

At the time, however, that the king made this propoſal to me, I was ſo fully convinced that his having timely notice of the dangers which threatened him might ſave the royal family, that I accepted it without heſitation, although I could not but be ſenſible of the perilous nature of ſuch an employment; for had it been diſcovered, or

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even ſurmiſed, I ſhould not merely have run the riſk of being ſent a priſoner to Orleans, like M. de Leſſart, but of being torn in pieces by the populace.

But that the danger I was willing to incur might prove as uſeful as poſſible, I propoſed to the king that the obſervers above mentioned ſhould be commiſſioned to inveſtigate and point out to the tribunals of police the names and abodes of the moſt ſeditious and dangerous vagabonds, from all countries, who at that time infeſted the capital. His majeſty having approved of this, I immediately made it my buſineſs to ſearch for a ſenſible and well-intentioned juſtice of peace of the police department, and I found one of this deſcription in M. Buob, an Alſacian by birth, who, before the revolution, had been in partnerſhip with Duvernois the banker, and had ſince been appointed juſtice of peace and one of the ſix who compoſed the tribunal *de la police correctionelle*, in which his indefatigable activity gave him great influence. I commiſſioned a perſon, in whom I could confide,

ſide, to endeavour to find out how Buob ſtood inclined. He was found to be as favourably diſpoſed as we could wiſh, and he came to me next night about nine o'clock. I told him that the king, being informed of the zeal and activity with which he attended to the police of Paris, had deſired me to expreſs his approbation to him. This greatly flattered him. He boaſted much of the ſervices which had been rendered by the tribunal of police, and likewiſe aſſured me that it was in his power to render much greater, provided he was aſſiſted.

"But unluckily," ſaid he, "we have no other fund from which we can pay our agents, except the produce of the confiſcations and fines."

Unwilling to let him ſuſpect that the king had any knowledge of the plan reſpecting the obſervers,

"You ſhall not want money," ſaid I, "if I ſucceed in gaining you the confidence of a ſociety of rich citizens, who, for their perſonal ſecurity, have raiſed a pretty conſiderable fund, for the purpoſe of keeping in

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pay a certain number of perſons, who inform them of all that paſſes in the capital; and I have no doubt of their agreeing, at my requeſt, to put thoſe perſons under your command."

"Oh!" ſaid he; "but theſe people cannot be depended upon ſo much as thoſe which the police have already engaged, but whom we have no ſufficient fund to pay them from."

"Well," anſwered I, "I ſhall propoſe to the ſociety to grant a reward of one hundred livres for the diſcovery of each ſeditious perſon; which money ſhall be immediately paid, on the legal conviction of the criminal."

"Cannot the king," ſaid he, "throw that expence upon the civil liſt?"

"I certainly ſhall not propoſe ſuch a thing to him," anſwered I. "M. de la Porte, who is ſcrupulouſly exact, would not fail to inſert the article in his regiſter, and the conſequence might prove as diſagreeable to you as prejudicial to the king."

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This anſwer ſeemed to ſatisfy Buob, whom I did not think proper fully to truſt, until I knew more about him.

The denunciations began the following week; and betwixt that period, to the end of July, fifty-eight of the moſt ſeditious were taken up and tried. Part of them were condemned to three years' impriſonment, and others to two years, in the caſtle of Bicêtre, where they remained in confinement till after the 10th of Auguſt, when the mob forced the doors of that priſon, and ſet them at liberty.

One of theſe raſcals, named Fournier, afterwards commanded the detachment which was ſent from Paris, forced the priſon at Orleans, and conducted the priſoners from thence to Verſailles, and there gave them up to the aſſaſſins who waited for them.

His majeſty likewiſe entruſted me with the direction of another eſtabliſhment of the ſame kind, much more expenſive, at the head of which was a man of an intriguing ſpirit, whom particular reaſons prevent

prevent me from naming. M. de Montmorin had begun to employ him, during the firſt aſſembly, as a ſecret agent of all the private negotiations of the miniſtry, in order to make particular motions be ſupported or rejected in the aſſembly or in the Jacobin club. He had pretty well fulfilled this employment, and his ſervices had not paſſed unrewarded; for beſides the avowed recompence he received from the miniſter, he probably retained a ſmall gratification out of the money which he was commiſſioned to diſtribute. This ſubtle man, dextrous and inſinuating, always of the opinion of the perſon he converſed with, was, in reality, attached to no party. He perſuaded M. de Montmorin, that from his intimacy with the popular characters of the revolution, it was in his power to be of eſſential ſervice to the king, eſpecially by inſpiring and keeping up a ſpirit of loyalty in the *garde nationale* of Paris, by aſſociating himſelf with the officers and ſoldiers who had the greateſt influence in their particular battalions: but he obſerved, that for

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this purpoſe he muſt have it in his power to invite about twenty of them every day to dinner, and alſo to diſtribute little preſents, from time to time, amongſt them, according as circumſtances ſeemed to require; that upon an exact calculation he found that 34,000 livres a month would be ſufficient for theſe purpoſes; and by this means he hoped in a ſhort time to ſecure a majority in all the ſections.

The miniſters, ſo far from heſitating to grant him the ſum he demanded, were convinced that they had made a moſt advantageous bargain; and, in order to remove the ſuſpicion which his expenſive manner of living might give riſe to, M. de Leſſart, then miniſter of the home department, at the deſire of M. de Montmorin, named him to a place of 10,000 livres a year, which, together with his own perſonal property, might be ſuppoſed to enable him to ſupport the expence which his plan required him to keep up. On due inveſtigation, I found that no advantage had reſulted from this meaſure, either by conciliating the national

guards or the ſections, who continued as ill diſpoſed as ever. And beſides, as the expence, which amounted to 400,000 livres a year, could now only be defrayed from the funds of the civil liſt, I perſuaded the king to reſerve this ſum for a more uſeful purpoſe; and it may occaſion ſurpriſe to many, when they are informed, that it was through the means of this very agent, that the noiſy patriot Danton received more than a hundred thouſand crowns under the miniſtry of M. de Montmorin, for propoſing or ſupporting the various motions in the Jacobin club. He faithfully fulfilled his engagement, always reſerving to himſelf the liberty of employing the means he thought would beſt ſucceed in making his motions paſs. His uſual method was to ſeaſon them with violent declamations againſt the court and miniſters, that he might not be ſuſpected of being ſold to them.

After the retreat of M. de Montmorin, M. de Leſſart, who continued to employ the ſame agent, being in a committee at the houſe

houſe of the *Garde des Sceaux*, ſuddenly broke it up, ſaying he had appointed a perſon to meet him upon an affair of conſequence. I myſelf ſet him down at his own houſe; and, in our way, he told me, that the buſineſs for which he had been called out was to advance twenty-four thouſand livres to a perſon who was to remit this ſum to Danton, in order to engage him to carry a particular motion in the Jacobin club. The ſum appeared to me exorbitant; and, as I had a perſon of confidence in the Jacobin club, I told M. de Leſſart, that unleſs it was a matter of great importance, and of a very delicate nature, I probably could get it brought on and paſſed, without coſting him a farthing. Upon his telling me the object of the motion, I thought it might be of ſome utility; and, by having it preſented in the popular ſtyle of the times, might very probably be carried. Accordingly, by the addreſs of the perſon I uſually employed in the club, the motion was next day made by Dubois de Crancé, and paſſed without oppoſition.

The agent, whom I have avoided to name, when he underſtood from M. de la Porte, that the king had entruſted me with the ſuperintendency of the ſecret buſineſs in which he was employed, called on me about this time; and, vaunting his own ſervices, he aſſured me, that he had been commiſſioned by M. de Leſſart, towards the end of December 1791, to make propoſals to the deputies Briſſot, Vergniaud, Guadet, the Abbe Fauchet, and another ſtill alive, and at preſent in the aſſembly, whoſe name I ſuppreſs on that account: in conſequence of which, theſe deputies had agreed to give their voices and influence in the aſſembly, to the miniſter, for the ſum of ſix thouſand livres a month, to be paid to each; adding, that M. de Leſſart thought they required too high a price; and, as they would not abate the leaſt in their demand, the negociation ended, and only produced the effect of irritating theſe five deputies againſt the miniſter.

If it ſhould be thought ſurpriſing that theſe deputies ſhould entruſt a man of this kind with a ſecret of ſuch importance, all that I can ſay from my own certain knowledge is, that the deputies in queſtion ſhewed the greateſt rancour againſt the miniſter; but, with regard to the other fact, I have only the man's authority.

At this time M. Servan having been appointed miniſter of war inſtead of M. de Grave, the whole cabinet was compoſed of Jacobins, who, being ſupported by the *Côté Gauche* of the Aſſembly, loudly called for a declaration of war againſt the emperor and the king of Pruſſia. The king was perſuaded, that their chief motive was, that they might have more plauſible pretexts of accuſing him of having a ſecret intelligence with the courts of Vienna and Berlin; he therefore deferred the final determination of the council as long as poſſible, and only conſented to propoſe the declaration of war to the aſſembly, after each of the miniſters had ſeparately given him

his opinion and motives in writing ſigned by them.

The aſſembly received this meſſage with tranſport, and decreed with acclamations the declaration of war. The enemies of the king and queen were much leſs occupied in putting France in a ſituation to ſuſtain it, than in endeavouring to take advantage of the critical ſituation in which this new order of things placed their majeſties. The ſcrupulous exactneſs with which the king, faithful to his oath, adhered to the conſtitution, had hitherto diſconcerted the projects of the Jacobins, and diſcredited the aſſertions they continually repeated, of the king's diſlike to the conſtitution, and of his ſeeking to overſet it. This vague accuſation being given up, as having ceaſed to make any impreſſion, the Jacobins now ſubſtituted in its ſtead, the accuſation of betraying the nation; and his majeſty was attacked for purpoſely neglecting, as was boldly aſſerted, to give neceſſary orders to the miniſters for repairing the frontier towns,

towns, providing them in warlike ſtores, and completing the regiments: they alſo accuſed him of keeping up a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor, and indicating to him thoſe parts of the frontiers where he would meet with the leaſt reſiſtance, and even ſending him money to defray the expence of his operations; and ſome of the populace declared to the municipality of Paris, that they had ſeen whole waggon-loads of gold on their way to Vienna. In ſhort, the coffee-houſes, public walks, and clubs reſounded with plots and conſpiracies of the pretended *Commitee Autrichien.*

Theſe accuſations, however abſurd, became dangerous, becauſe the king would not condeſcend to refute them. The avidity and credulity with which the vulgar are wont to receive reports of treaſons, plots, and conſpiracies, diſpenſed the journaliſts and club orators from the neceſſity of ſupporting them with the ſlighteſt proof.

CHAP. XXIII.

The critical ſituation in which the king was.—Impoſture of an Auſtrian committee renewed.—Carra denounces M. de Montmorin and me in the Jacobin club as members of that pretended committee.—We give in a complaint againſt him, and againſt ſeveral Journaliſts.—Propoſal ſent to me by the Jacobins.—Imprudence of the Judge Lariviére.—Decree of accuſation againſt him.—Briſſot and Genſonné undertake to prove the truth of the Auſtrian Committee.

THE king had never before been placed in ſo dangerous a ſituation: his council was entirely compoſed of Jacobin miniſters; and, the conſequence of this meaſure, which he had been made to think would render him popular, was to render every act of popularity fruitleſs for himſelf, while the whole merit devolved upon the

the miniſters. For they were at pains to impreſs on the public, that every popular meaſure proceeded from them; and that thoſe acts of government which, though abſolutely neceſſary, were diſpleaſing to the multitude, proceeded from the king. So that this unfortunate prince, deſtitute of all ſupport, of every reſource, had nothing to oppoſe to the ferocity of his enemies, their plots and their calumnies, but the mildneſs of his character, and his inexhauſtible patience; unfortunately, the king's enemies were too well acquainted with his being poſſeſſed of thoſe qualities, which are always hurtful to a tottering throne, and often weaken the foundation of the beſt eſtabliſhed.

The ridiculous ſtory of the Auſtrian committee was again revived, and moſt ſucceſsfully employed in irritating the people againſt the court. The moſt ſubtile and criminal methods were made uſe of in order to convince the public of the exiſtence of this committee.

One

One Sieur Richer de Serisy went to the house of Renaut St. Jean d'Angely, and invited him, in the name of the princess de Lamballe, to a committee which was to be held at her house on Friday evening at six o'clock; and told him, that he would find there, amongst others, Messrs. de Montmorin, Bertrand, and Malouet. Renaut fell into the snare. All his doubts respecting the Austrian committee vanished; and he was endowed with vanity sufficient to think it the most natural thing on earth that he should be summoned to a society where subjects of the highest importance were discussed, and in which wisdom was so requisite: he enjoyed the importance he derived from an invitation from the princess, who, he supposed, acted in consequence of orders from the king and queen. He could not help being a little surprised, however, how their majesties had divined that he was so much better a royalist than he had hitherto appeared, or indeed than he had till now conceived himself to be. Full of these ideas, he waited upon M. Malouet,

with whom he had never been in any habits of intimacy, although they had been both members of the firſt aſſembly. M. Malouet was rather ſurpriſed at his viſit; but ſtill more ſo, on his expreſſing great ſatisfaction at the frequent opportunities he ſhould now have of meeting with him.

"Where are we to meet ſo often?" ſaid M. Malouet.

"In the committee at Madame de Lamballe's," anſwered Renaut.

"Upon my honour, ſir, I don't know what you are ſpeaking of," ſaid M. Malouet; "I am not acquainted with Madame de Lamballe, neither am I of any committee."

"I do not mean a public committee," replied Renaut, "but the ſecret one which is held at the princeſs de Lamballe's, who has done me the honour to ſend Richer de Seriſy to invite me to attend on Friday evening; and I was informed by him, that I ſhould meet you and Meſſieurs Montmorin and Bertrand. So you need not keep any longer upon the reſerve."

"I can

"I can only repeat, ſir," ſaid M. Malouet, "that I am entirely ignorant of what you mean: I never ſet my foot within the princeſs de Lamballe's door; I hardly know her by ſight, and I am not of any committee, public or ſecret."

"What then am I to think," ſaid Renaut, aſtoniſhed, "at the meſſage I received by Richer de Seriſy?"

"I ſuſpect," replied M. Malouet, "that it is either done by way of a joke, or that it is a ſnare laid for you; therefore, I adviſe you to be upon your guard."

Upon this they ſeparated. M. Malouet came directly to my houſe, and gave me an account of what had juſt paſſed.

This appeared to require the more attention, as for ſeveral days paſt, the Journaliſts, and thoſe who made motions in the Palais Royal and public places, had been endeavouring to raiſe the people by the moſt violent declamations on the ſubject of plots, aſſerted to be carried on by the ſuppoſed Auſtrian committee. A liſt of the

names of all the members compoſing this committee was announced to be publiſhed ſoon: in the mean time, all true patriots were pathetically called upon to revenge the atrocious conſpiracies formed againſt their liberty.

On the Sunday before, two orators had been taken up in the Palais Royal, who were haranguing to a crowd of people againſt the court and the Auſtrian committee. Their vehement declamations, and patriotic ſentiments, excited ſuch admiration, that the agents of police durſt not have ſeized upon them, if they had not been, at the ſame time, detected picking the pockets of their admiring auditors. Upon examination, thoſe two patriots were found to carry the marks of the whip and burnt iron on their ſhoulders: patents of their aſſociation with the Jacobin club were found at the ſame time in their pockets.

Poſſeſſed of the above facts, I went to confer with M. de Montmorin, who was equally intereſted with myſelf; and I was then

then informed, that Carra had, the day before, denounced the Auſtrian committee in the Jacobin club; and that both M. de Montmorin and myſelf were pointed out in the denunciation as the principal members of that committee.

I thought I could not find a more favourable opportunity of unmaſking the malice of thoſe unprincipled men, and of expoſing their atrocious motives for inventing this calumny. M. de Montmorin thought, on the contrary, that the wiſeſt plan was to deſpiſe this clamour, and let it fall to the ground of itſelf; but, as he ſaw that I was not diſpoſed to adopt that opinion, he earneſtly beſought me not to venture to act in a matter ſo extremely hazardous, without having calmly reflected upon it. My reflections were not long; and the reſult of them was, to give in a complaint to the criminal tribunal againſt Carra and his accomplices; particularly the Journaliſts, who contributed to ſpread the belief of the fable of the Auſtrian committee; namely, Briſſot and Condorcet, the writers of the Chro-

Chronique de Paris and the Patriote François; but, before I actually preſented this accuſation, I thought proper to ſubmit it to the king and queen; and accordingly ſent a copy for their conſideration: I then diſpatched a courier to Anet, where the princeſs of Lamballe was, to inform her of what had happened; and to enquire if ſhe was acquainted with Richer de Serify, and had ſent him to invite Renaut St. Jean d'Angely to attend a committee at her houſe; or if ſhe knew of any committee either held at her own houſe or in her apartment in the palace.

The next day the king returned the copy of my complaint, with the following words written on the margin with his own hand:

"I read to the queen the complaint you propoſe giving in. We cannot miſtake the motive which impels you; and we are ſenſibly touched with this proof of your attachment; but we fear that it will expoſe you to danger; have a care *!"

That

* "J'ai lu a la reine le projet de plainte. Nous ne pouvons pas nous mé prendre ſur le motif qui ſugg.re cette démar.he; et

That ſame day, I received exactly ſuch an anſwer as I expected from the princeſs de Lamballe: ſhe knew neither Richer de Seriſy, nor Renaut St. Jean Angely; and had never in her life been of any committee.

I wrote to the king,

"That no apprehenſion of perſonal danger would ever influence me to defer one moment any meaſure which I thought would be advantageous for his majeſty."

In conſequence of my determination, I went to Buob, *Juge de Paix*, who adviſed me to carry this affair before the tribunal *de Police Correctionelle*, which was then in force; and to make my complaint be heard by the *Juge de Paix* Lariviére, who was the moſt intelligent and beſt diſpoſed member of that tribunal.

I took his advice; and, on my application, Lariviére ordered the caſe to be brought before him, and witneſſes to be heard.

et nous en ſommes bien vivement touchés; mais nous craignons l'un et l'autre qu'elle ne vous compromette; prenez y bien garde."

The

The next day my complaint was publiſhed in the journals, and ſix thouſand copies were ſold in the capital. This ſtep made a very great impreſſion; and excepting the Jacobins, who were enraged at being thus publicly expoſed, ridiculed, and debaſed, all parties were pleaſed; but thoſe royaliſts, above all, who had continued to attend at the palace, and aſſiduouſly to pay court to their majeſties, and who, upon that account, had reaſon to fear that their names would be inſerted in the liſt of the Auſtrian committtee, announced to be publiſhed. On the following Sunday, therefore, as ſoon as I appeared at the king's levee, I received the compliments and thanks of many for what I had done.

After having heard the depoſition of the princeſs de Lamballe, M. de Malouet, and Renaut St. Jean d'Angely, and having in vain endeavoured to find out Richer de Seriſy *, M. Lariviére iſſued a decree that Carra

* Richer de Seriſy called on me about a month after this affair was entirely over, and aſſured me that the invitation he had given to Renaut was a mere pleaſantry of his own, to

Carra ſhould appear before him. He preſented himſelf accordingly, and declared, in his own defence, that he had been authoriſed by Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, members of the committee of public ſafety, to bring forward the accuſation againſt M. de Montmorin and M. Bertrand, which had given occaſion for this complaint.

Upon this occaſion, a Jacobin, whom I had formerly been acquainted with, called on me, and endeavoured, in vain, to alarm me upon the conſequences of this affair.

"Thoſe who perſuaded you to undertake it," ſaid he, "have given you very bad advice. I dare not tell you the extent of the danger which threatens you."

"Then I will tell you," anſwered I. "I am threatened with aſſaſſination, am I not? It is what I expected," continued I, "and I am prepared accordingly. Here is an excellent blunderbuſs, charged with twenty-

expoſe the credulous vanity of the man, in which the Jacobins had no part. This may be true; but the contrary might naturally enough be believed by thoſe who were not in Serify's confidence, or who had no great opinion of his veracity.

five

five balls; and beſides, here are four pair of piſtols, not to mention my ſword. My brother is as well prepared; and I leave the reſt to Providence: but whatever may be the conſequences, I can blame nobody, for I had no counſellors."

"Well, it is altogether very unlucky buſineſs," ſaid he: "but you might ſtill turn it to advantage, and gain as many friends among the Jacobins as you have among the ariſtocrates."

"That would be curious indeed," anſwered I. "Do you ſeriouſly imagine it poſſible?"

"Not only poſſible," ſaid he, "but very eaſy, I will anſwer for it."

"But how is it to be done?" replied I; "for I ſhall never be able to gueſs."

"You have only to withdraw your complaint, declaring that your attack was originally directed againſt a few individuals: but finding that it might involve many good patriots, whoſe intentions are honeſt and praiſe-worthy, you therefore deſiſt from all further proſecution. By this

means your object will be effectually fulfilled, without danger to yourself; for you may be assured that the Austrian committee will never more be heard of."

"So this is your advice?" replied I. "To which I answer, that were it in my power to follow it, I would not; and were it *now* in my inclination, I could not, because the information is already given in to the court, and the judges have only to pass sentence."

"Oh! as for that," said he, "means might be fallen upon to stop the proceedings."

"No more, if you please, on this subject," said I, a little out of humour.

—— "I beg," replied he, "that you may take great care, sir, of what you are about. This is a very serious matter. It is only my attachment for you which leads me to give you this advice; for nobody desired me to speak to you upon the business. I once more beg you will reflect."

"Yes,

"Yes, yes," interrupted I, "I ſhall reflect. Give yourſelf no uneaſineſs. I wiſh you good morning."

And ſo ended our converſation.

M. de Montmorin, ſeeing the good effect my meaſure produced, added his complaint to mine; and a few days afterwards we jointly gave in an accuſation againſt Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, who, according to Carra's teſtimony, were the real inſtigators of our denunciation in the Jacobins. Upon this new complaint, Lariviére iſſued an order to arreſt Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot: but unluckily he was carried away by the deſire of acting a great part, and of making himſelf remarkable; and in defiance of every conſideration of prudence, he drew upon himſelf the indignation of the aſſembly, by executing the law in the moſt diſreſpectful manner againſt theſe popular members, whom he cauſed to be raiſed out of their beds, and brought before his tribunal at five o'clock in the morning. His pretence for this inconſiderate conduct was, that he wiſhed to

avoid interfering with their attendance on the aſſembly, and ſummoned them at that early hour, that they might be at liberty when the aſſembly met.

This bold attack on the dignity of national repreſentation might naturally be ſuppoſed to excite the animadverſions of the aſſembly, and accordingly Lariviére was ſummoned to the bar to anſwer for his conduct. He preſented himſelf with ſteadineſs, and juſtified his proceedings by an appeal to the conſtitution, which had not eſtabliſhed any diſtinction in the manner of arreſting perſons in different ſituations, and therefore he could not preſume to introduce any new form.

This tribute to the equality of rights conciliated the tribunes and part of the aſſembly: but unfortunately for him, he drew upon himſelf the hatred of the majority, by the contempt which his account of the depoſitions and examination raiſed againſt the fable of the Auſtrian committee. Briſſot and Genſonné could not endure that an invention, which they had employed

ployed ſo ſucceſsfully againſt the court, ſhould be treated as a ridiculous chimera. They did not ſcruple to aſſert, that the circumſtances ſtated in the proceſs were falſe; and they engaged to bring before the aſſembly the moſt evident proofs of the reality of the Auſtrian committee, and of the plots which were there planned.

This report was adjourned for eight days. His majeſty, in the mean time, affected with the danger which the ill-judged, though well-meant, zeal of M. Lariviére had drawn upon him, was deſirous to aſſiſt him by every means in his power; for which purpoſe, he commiſſioned the *Miniſtre de Juſtice* to ſend an order to the *Accuſateur Public* for proſecuting the inventors and propagators of the calumny regarding the Auſtrian committee, and he ſent a letter to inform the aſſembly of what he had done *. But this did not prevent the aſſembly from paſſing a decree againſt M. Lariviére, who was accordingly ſent to the

* *Vide* Appendix, No. IX.

priſon at Orleans, for having failed in reſpect to the nation in the perſon of its repreſentatives.

This truly honeſt man ſhared the fate of the priſoners who were ſent to Orleans. All were maſſacred on the September following, excepting ſome domeſtics, and an officer of artillery named Loyauty, who was grievouſly, but not mortally wounded.

The report of Briſſot and Genſonné drew an immenſe concourſe to the aſſembly. Each of the reporters ſpoke a long while, and were liſtened to with attention: but inſtead of the evident proofs they had announced, their ſpeeches conſiſted of declamation, and aſſertions unſupported by any proof at all.

"Theſe are but words," was repeated from all ſides. "To the proofs, to the proofs. Where, then, are your proofs?"

The ſilence of the deputies, upon this ſummons, raiſed a general hiſs and burſt of laughing; and here the aſſembly broke up.

A few days after, M. de Montmorin and I publiſhed ſeparately our anſwers to theſe

reports, which we ſet in ſuch a ridiculous point of view, that from that time forward no journaliſt or motion-maker ventured to mention the Auſtrian committee; and if any perſons afterwards, in private, attempted to ſpeak of it ſeriouſly, they were laughed at.

CHAP. XXIV.

A ſecret meſſage to foreign courts, with which M. Mallet-du-Pan is entruſted.—I adviſe the king to recommend him to the Baron de Breteuil.—His majeſty's anſwer.—The effect which the unhappy iſſue of his journey to Varennes had produced on the king's mind, with reſpect to the Baron de Breteuil.—The powers with which his majeſty had entruſted that miniſter.—The period and motives of their revocation.—Cauſe of the quarrel between Meſſrs. de Breteuil and Calonne.—The king orders me to recommend Mallet-du-Pan to the Marechal de Caſtries, and to correſpond with the former.—Mallet-du-Pan being arrived in Germany, receives a credential under the king's hand.—Exhauſted ſtate of the civil liſt.—Secret loan.

THE campaign was going to open; and although the king did not foreſee all the ill conſequences which would follow, yet

yet he looked forward to the war with very great inquietude. Above all, he apprehended that the victories, which he did not doubt would be gained by the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, would rekindle the fury of the Jacobins againſt the prieſts and nobles who remained ſtill in France.

The fears which his majeſty expreſſed in his letters to me, were the occaſion of my propoſing to him to ſend a perſon of confidence to the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, to endeavour to prevail on them not to allow their armies to act offenſively againſt France, until they ſhould be under the laſt neceſſity of ſo doing; and even in that caſe to make the entrance of their armies into France be preceded by a manifeſto; in which they ſhould declare, "that, forced to take arms by an unjuſt attack, they did not impute that aggreſſion either to the king or to the French nation, but to a criminal faction which oppreſſed both; conſequently, far from departing from the ſentiments of amity which united them to France, that their intention, on the contrary,

trary, was to deliver that nation from tyranny, and reſtore it to legal order and tranquillity; that they had no view of interfering with the form of government, but merely to ſecure to the nation the right of adopting that which ſuited it the beſt; that all idea of conqueſt was foreign to their thoughts; that private property ſhould be by them equally reſpected as national property; that their majeſties took all peaceable and faithful ſubjects under their protection; that they conſidered as their enemies thoſe only who were the enemies of France, namely, the faction of Jacobins and all its adherents," &c.

In conſequence of the manner in which I had often heard M. Maloüet ſpeak of Mallet-du-Pan, with whom I was not myſelf acquainted, I adviſed the king to employ him on this occaſion, which could be done with the more ſafety, becauſe he had never been at court, and was little known to thoſe who frequented it; and he might proceed to Germany by the way of Geneva, to which city he was in the uſe of making frequent

frequent journies, and of courſe his departure would create no ſuſpicion.

The talents and probity of Mallet-du-Pan were not unknown to the king, who immediately agreed to my propoſal. It would have been imprudent to have given him letters of credit, but at the ſame time it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould have the means of convincing the emperor and the king of Pruſſia that he was really ſent by Lewis XVI. In my letter to his majeſty I therefore propoſed to addreſs Mallet-du-Pan to the baron de Breteuil; and I gave, as my reaſon for this propoſal, *the powers which, as I had heard*, that miniſter had received from the king. In anſwer to this article of my letter, the king wrote in the margin,

"Not at all. He has no longer my powers from me: but you may address Mallet-du-Pan, in my name, to the Marechal de Caſtries, with the precautions you propoſe, which are very neceſſary *."

* "Point du tout. Il n'en à plus, vous pouvez adreſſer Mallet-du-Pan, de ma part, au Marechal de Caſtries, avec les precautions que vous propoſez; elles ſont néceſſaires."

This

This anſwer recalled to my memory marks of diſpleaſure which I had obſerved in the king's countenance, when the baron de Breteuil's name was mentioned in his preſence. One day, in particular, before M. de Leſſart and me, the following ſentence, pronounced in an angry tone, eſcaped him:

"It was he that prompted us to take that curſed journey to Varennes."

Having frequently ſince had the opportunity of converſing with the marquis de Bouillé, I once aſked an explanation of this expreſſion of the king, becauſe it ſeemed to diſagree entirely with the letter which the marquis wrote to the aſſembly, after the king's return, in which he took on himſelf the whole blame of that journey. M. de Bouillé told me that he had written that letter, to turn the fury of the aſſembly from the king and others, by arrogating the whole contrivance of the plan to himſelf. At the ſame time he poſitively aſſured me, that the project of Varennes had been

firſt propoſed by the baron de Breteuil; that the biſhop of Pamiers, being ſent to him by that miniſter with a letter from the king, on the 22d of October 1790, had informed him of the plan for the eſcape of the royal family to Montmedi, aſſuring M. de Bouillé, that this was the only condition on which the emperor would take an active part in favour of the king; and that the baron was the chief manager of the project; that he (the marquis de Bouillé) had ſtrongly objected to it, repreſenting the diſmal conſequences that ſo very dangerous a ſtep might have; that it would be more adviſeable to wait until the people in general, and the army in particular, were entirely diſabuſed, and until the opinion of both ſhould become more favourable for the king, which it was doing every hour; that by the influence which the famous affair at Nancy had given to him over the troops and inhabitants of Alſace and Lorraine, he was convinced that he could have made them adopt the white cockade, had he not been prevented by expreſs orders from his majeſty; that the biſhop of Pamiers had

anſwered

anſwered to all this, that the king was abſolutely reſolved to follow this plan, but that he would defer its execution until the ſpring, that M. de Bouillé might have time to prepare every thing neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs. After this, M. de Bouillé told me that he correſponded with the king and queen, by the means of the baron de Ferſen and of the baroneſs de Korpf; that he had frequently renewed his remonſtrances to their majeſties and to M. de Breteuil himſelf, againſt this perilous enterpriſe.

M. de Bouillé attributed its failure, Firſt, To the ſuſpicions which aroſe from the troops detached to protect the king, remaining too long on the road. This was owing to his departure from Paris having been deferred twenty-four hours longer than had been intended, of which M. de Bouillé was not informed till after the departure of the different detachments.

Secondly, To the king's having forgotten to order a courier or two, as had been agreed on, to ſet out two hours before the carriage in which the royal family were,

on

on purpoſe to inform the commanding officers of the detachments and poſts that were eſtabliſhed on the rout.

Thirdly, To the ſtop occaſioned by an accident that happened to one of the carriages between Paris and Chalons.

Fourthly, To the detachment at the firſt poſt after Chalons having been removed before the royal family arrived. The officer who commanded, having waited an hour beyond the time he had calculated for the king's arrival, imagined that the ſcheme had been abandoned, and therefore removed his troop*.

With reſpect to the powers given to the baron de Breteuil, I ſhall report, word for word, what I was aſſured of by two gentlemen, members of the council formed in Germany by the princes, the king's brothers, in the year 1792. Both of theſe

* M. de Bouillé's aſſertions reſpecting the failure of this plan for the king's eſcape are confirmed, or at leaſt ſtrongly ſupported, by a ſtatement which that general made from the reports of all the officers employed in its execution; a piece equally curious and authentic, which I ſhall give at length at the end of this chapter.

gentlemen enjoyed the confidence of their royal highneſſes.

When the baron de Breteuil left Verſailles, at the period of M. Necker's recall, he was inveſted with the power of treating with foreign courts, and of propoſing any meaſure in the king's name, which, in his opinion, tended to promote the re-eſtabliſhment of the royal authority, or of good order in the kingdom: No advantage appears to have been derived from this power, while he had a right to make uſe of it: but it will appear, by what follows, that he continued to employ it when he was no longer authoriſed to do ſo, unleſs he received new powers from his majeſty poſterior to the period in queſtion, namely, the month of May 1792, in which caſe he will be able to juſtify himſelf completely, when he ſhews the ſecond, or renewed powers, as well as the firſt, which were recalled.

In July 1789, when the king was obliged to go to the *Hotel de Ville*, he had given a paper to his brother *Monſieur*, in which he named

named him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and entruſted him with the government, in the caſe of his being out of a ſituation to exerciſe his authority. That paper was afterwards returned by Monſieur to the king, in the year 1790. But when the royal family were preparing to ſet out for Varennes, in June 1791, the king told M. de Ferſen, who was in the ſecret of the journey, that he would give to him a writing, to the ſame effect with the former, to be delivered to his brother Monſieur, to be made uſe of by him in caſe the king himſelf ſhould be ſtopped, and deprived of his authority. The hurry of his departure having prevented his majeſty from writing this paper, he charged M. de Ferſen, who accompanied him part of the way, to go to *Monſieur*, wherever he might be, and inſtruct him verbally of his poſitive intentions; and to aſſure him, that he (the king) would ſend the paper in queſtion, ſigned by himſelf, as ſoon as he ſhould have it in his power to tranſmit it.

M. de Ferſen fulfilled his commiſſion, when he joined the princes at Bruxelles, after the king was ſtopped, on which Monſieur wrote to the baron de Breteuil. The letter was dated July 2, 1791. 'That he had received poſitive information that it was the king's intention, that he, in conjunction with his brother the count d'Artois, ſhould treat with foreign powers reſpecting the means of procuring the king's liberty, and whatever might concern the reeſtabliſhment of order and was for the good of the ſtate; conſequently that the baron de Breteuil muſt now conſider the powers, which he had formerly been inveſted with, as revoked; and in future he muſt take no ſteps, for the king's ſervice, but thoſe preſcribed by the king's brothers.'

A few days after, Monſieur received thoſe powers, in writing, from the king, dated July 7, 1791.

The baron de Breteuil anſwered Monſieur, that he would ſoon join the princes, and would act conformably to their intentions. He accordingly met them at Bonn,

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in their way to Coblentz. He did not then heſitate to acknowledge "that his powers were revoked;" but he intreated Monſieur to leave him in poſſeſſion of the writing containing them, which he valued as the moſt honourable recompence of his long ſervices. At the ſame time he gave his word of honour to make no farther uſe of it, and never to interfere in the affairs of France or of the princes, but in conformity with the orders he might hereafter receive from them.

Notwithſtanding all this, and in ſpite of the freſh orders from the king, delivered to the baron by M. de Viomenil, in the end of the year 1791, not to act in any reſpect but in concert with the king's brothers and the marechal de Caſtries, it is aſſerted, that after the fatal 10th of Auguſt 1792, he recommenced a correſpondence, in the king's name, with the different courts, as if he had been inveſted with freſh powers; and that, without conſulting the princes, he ſent the viſcount de Caraman to Berlin, and the marquis de Bombelles to Peterſburgh;

but the empreſs formally refuſed to acknowledge him, and continued to treat with M. d'Eſterhazy, who repreſented the princes at the court of Ruſſia, as the baron de Roll did at the court of Pruſſia.

When the baron de Breteuil found that the king of Pruſſia and the emperor were determined to acknowledge Monſieur regent of the kingdom, he wrote to their majeſties, that he was in poſſeſſion of very important papers upon that ſubject; and that he would join them at the armies if they would ſuſpend their reſolution till his arrival. At the ſame time he gave Monſieur to underſtand, that he would throw no obſtacle in the way of his regency, provided he would entruſt him to fulfil the king's intentions reſpecting the choice of the members of his council.

However, he indirectly informed both their majeſties and the princes, that it was the preſence of M. de Calonne only which prevented his immediately concurring in their views.

The

The princes were embarraſſed how to act, when M. de Calonne, who had always declared that he would retire as ſoon as the princes were ready to enter France, ſaid to their highneſſes, "That ſince his attendance, which proceeded from motives of diſintereſted attachment only, was ſuppoſed to form the leaſt obſtacle to Monſieur's aſſuming the title of regent, he would, with their permiſſion, retire for the preſent;" adding, "that he was ſorry to find, that in ſpite of the diſpoſition he had manifeſted to conciliate the baron de Breteuil, that gentleman ſtill continued inimical." M. de Calonne then ſet off, carrying with him the gratitude of the royal brothers, and the eſteem of many officers of the army. Baron de Breteuil arrived ſoon after at Verdun; and immediately began to act as if inveſted with the whole authority. He diſregarded his former engagement; and, in the name of the king and queen, oppoſed the regency which was about to be declared.

That miniſter's hatred againſt M. de Calonne, and the prejudice which he raiſed in the queen's mind againſt him, contri-

buted but too much to the revolution; therefore, the origin of this fatal quarrel cannot be conſidered as foreign to theſe Memoirs. I received a general account of it, at the time it happened, from M. de Montmorin, who was an intimate friend of M. le Noir; and the particulars were ſince communicated to me by M. de Calonne himſelf; and are as follows:

In the year 1783, the baron de Breteuil and M. de Calonne, being called to the miniſtry about the ſame time, formed betwixt themſelves a treaty of alliance; the ſtrict obſervance of which would have been for the advantage of both.

It was agreed, among other articles, that in caſe one of them ſhould, at any time, imagine that he had juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the other, he was directly to come to an explanation.

This good underſtanding was kept up nearly two years, and contributed to give freſh vigour to the governmenr, which had ſuffered great relaxation under an almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of weak miniſters ever ſince the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth.

This

This union was broken by a miſunderſtanding which took place between the two miniſters, on occaſion of an intrigue that was ſet on foot to overturn M. de Calonne, and put M. Foulon in his place. This ſcheme was contrived by ſome of the principal members of the parliament; ſome meetings about it were held at the hôtel de Choiſeul; the ducheſs of Grammont ſeemed to connive at it, being eager to promote whatever might effect a general overturn of the miniſtry, in the hope of ſeeing her brother re-eſtabliſhed in his former ſituation. This muſt appear the more ſhocking, becauſe M. de Calonne had lately perſuaded the king to advance three millions of livres to the duke de Choiſeul, for two years, without intereſt, on condition of his giving a ſufficient ſecurity, that being the only means of ſaving him from bankruptcy: the queen had firſt ſuggeſted this, and afterwards promoted it by her influence, in gratitude to the duke, to whom ſhe conſidered herſelf as indebted for her ſituation of queen of France.

M. de Calonne had notice of Foulon's ſcheme, through ſome of his friends; and

all the particulars were afterwards diſcovered by the agents of police. M. le Noir, then lieutenant of police, gave an account in his daily reports, addreſſed to the baron de Breteuil, of every new circumſtance relating to this affair. The king was, or ought to have been informed of it, as it was the duty of the baron, in quality of miniſter of Paris, to lay theſe reports before his majeſty.

Several days elapſed after the diſcovery of the plot, without the king's taking any notice of it to M. de Calonne, who was ſurpriſed on that account; at laſt, his majeſty not only ſpoke of it, but reproached M. de Calonne for not having mentioned the affair to him, and particularly the intrigues which were carried on at the hôtel de Choiſeul. He anſwered, in his juſtification, that being convinced that the king muſt be informed of every circumſtance of it by the reports of M. le Noir, he had refrained from ſpeaking, in the hopes that his majeſty would ſpeak firſt, and condeſcend to ſhew ſome intereſt in a thing which concerned him ſo much.

"There is not a word of it in the reports of M. le Noir, preſented to me by the baron de Breteuil," ſaid the king; "and my reaſon for not mentioning the affair till to-day, is merely becauſe I was ignorant of it yeſterday."

M. de Calonne, never imagining that the baron de Breteuil could have any motive for concealing this plot from the king, ſuppoſed that his majeſty had not read the reports with attention: he happened to have ſome of them in his pocket, which he gave to the king, who, on reading them, was equally ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed to find facts there, of which he was entirely unacquainted. He compared theſe with the reports of the ſame date given him by the baron de Breteuil, and was extremely irritated on perceiving them entirely different.

M. de Calonne endeavoured to juſtify his colleague, who, he ſaid, could not intend to deceive his majeſty, but had probably only deferred mentioning the affair till it was cleared up.

"That

"That is no excuſe," anſwered the king, haſtily; "he ought never to give me a falſe, or an unexact report; and I deſire you will order M. le Noir, in my name, to ſend the reports henceforward directly to me."

M. de Calonne, after having in vain repreſented to the king how very much this would mortify the baron, who muſt look upon it as a diſgrace, excuſed himſelf from undertaking the commiſſion, ſaying it was not the province of the miniſter of finance to tranſmit his majeſty's orders to the lieutenant of police: if, therefore, he were to be the carrier of that order, the baron would accuſe him of being the ſuggeſter of it. But if his majeſty perſiſted in his intention, it would be better that he gave the order himſelf to M. le Noir, either verbally or in writing.

"Well," ſaid the king, "only deſire le Noir to addreſs one of his reports to me; and, after receiving it, I ſhall write to him to continue to ſend them always to me. In the mean time, I'll ſpeak to the

baron

baron de Breteuil; but, until then, do you ſay nothing to him of what has paſſed."

M. le Noir, in obedience to the king's orders, notified by M. de Calonne, next day addreſſed the report of the police directly to his majeſty.

On the ſame day, the king wrote to le Noir the letter which he had agreed upon with M. de Calonne, enjoining him to continue to addreſs the reports directly to him, till farther orders. The valet charged with this letter, not finding M. le Noir at home, unluckily went to the baron de Breteuil's hotel, where he made himſelf be announced *de la part du Roi*, on which the folding doors of the apartment where the baron was were thrown open, according to cuſtom, and the meſſenger entered.

The miniſter was tranſacting buſineſs with the lieutenant of police: he advanced with eagerneſs to receive the king's letter; but was told that it was for M. le Noir: M. le Noir took it, and modeſtly put it into his pocket.

"Read

"Read it, read your letter," ſaid the baron, in an imperious tone.

"I ſhall read it at home, ſir," anſwered M. le Noir.

"No, no, ſir, when a lieutenant of police receives a letter from the king, he ought to read it inſtantly; and every thing elſe muſt be poſtponed."

M. le Noir no longer heſitated; and, having read the letter, he was again going to put it into his pocket, when the baron aſked him drily what the contents were.

"I am not authoriſed to communicate them, ſir," anſwered M. le Noir.

"And pray, ſir," ſaid the baron, "how long is it ſince you began to receive letters from the king?"

"This is the firſt."

"And has the king forbid you to communicate it to me?"

"No, ſir, but———"

"But, but," ſaid the baron, "a letter from the king to the lieutenant of police ought not to be a ſecret to the miniſter of Paris."

Saying

Saying this, he ſnatched the letter from M. le Noir, before he was aware, and read it.

"How long, ſir," ſaid the baron, "have you been in the habit of ſending your reports to his majeſty?"

"I have only ſent one," anſwered le Noir.

"And for what reaſon, if you pleaſe, ſir, did you ſend that one?"

"Becauſe I received an order from his majeſty for ſo doing."

"By whom did you receive the order?"

"I am not at liberty to mention it."

"Ah! it is a ſecret, is it? Very well, ſir, that's ſufficient: we ſhall ſee."

M. le Noir put up his papers and withdrew, leaving the miniſter violently agitated and in very bad humour.

As ſoon as M. le Noir was gone, the baron ordered his carriage, and drove to Verſailles. He alighted at the hotel of M. de Vergennes, whom he firmly believed to have been the inſtigator of the mortification he had received; and he complained

of the injury in the moſt vehement terms.

But as the king had not ſaid a ſingle word to M. de Vergennes on this ſubject, that miniſter was aſtoniſhed at the baron's emotion, and could not give him the leaſt explanation; ſo that he returned to Paris as much in the dark, and more diſſatisfied than when he left it.

M. de Calonne being informed of this ſcene by M. de Vergennes, on whom he called a few minutes after the baron had left him, immediately diſpatched a courier to M. le Noir, deſiring him to give the baron an exact account of all that had paſſed.

The latter, ſtill impatient to clear up the myſtery, arrived at the *Hotel de Police* about an hour after M. de Calonne's courier; and, immediately on his beginning to queſtion M. le Noir, the letter was communicated to him; and he was afterwards informed of every circumſtance by that gentleman, who repeated word for word the converſation with the king as M. de Calonne had repreſented it to him.

The

The baron, who had been for two days a prey to doubts and ſurmiſes, was now fully convinced that a plot had been formed for his ruin; and, however clear and natural the relation which M. le Noir made to him was, he could perceive nothing in the whole of it but what his prejudice and reſentment was in ſearch of, namely, treachery and an enemy. From that moment, the baron breathed hatred and vengeance againſt M. de Calonne. Inſtead of deſiring an explanation according to their mutual agreement, he only thought of the means of revenging this ſuppoſed treachery. With this view, he repreſented the affair to the queen as a piece of malice levelled at her majeſty: that M. de Calonne, from his intimacy with M. le Noir, and having the direction of the reports of the police all addreſſed to the king, would have the queen herſelf, in a great meaſure, in his power; and might give ſuch a repreſentation of even her moſt innocent actions as would entirely ruin her in the king's eſteem.

The queen, who had no knowledge of the motives for the order given to M. le Noir, yielded implicit faith to the baron de Breteuil's ſuggeſtions. Of courſe ſhe was extremely irritated againſt M. de Calonne; and went directly to the king's apartment, where ſhe complained to his majeſty, with great bitterneſs, of that miniſter, and of M. le Noir. The king fell a laughing; and aſſured her, "that there was not a word of truth in the abſurd ſtory which ſhe was ſo ſimple as to be alarmed at."

This aſſurance was far from undeceiving the queen; ſhe inflexibly repelled every explanation tending to juſtify M. de Calonne; and remained firmly convinced that he had formed the raſh deſign of which the baron de Breteuil accuſed him.

In this manner, that princeſs was made the inſtrument of an unjuſt vengeance; and, from that period, ſhe took every opportunity of injuring M. de Calonne. Ah! could ſhe have foreſeen the fatal conſequences of his diſgrace which ſhe was ſo earneſt in accelerating.

Return-

Returning to the commiſſion of Mallet du Pan, I muſt now relate the precautions which the king had deſired me to uſe reſpecting the letter I was to give to him for the mareſchal de Caſtries: this letter was open, without addreſs; and ſo contrived, that in caſe of his being arreſted, and the letter found on him, and ſent to the aſſembly, nothing in it would have betrayed that it was intended for any other than Mallet du Pan himſelf.

This letter was of courſe very vague, and apparently inſigniſicant, particularly as I knew very little of M. de Caſtries, and had never written to him before; it was conceived nearly in the ſubſequent terms:

"The bearer of this letter, ſir, is intruſted by, and acquainted with the views of a family to whom you are much attached. With the fulleſt reliance on your zeal, I recommend him to you: he has undertaken this journey for the ſervice of that intereſting family; and, I am convinced, that when he acquaints you with

the affair in queſtion, you will ſupport his views by every means in your power."

M. Mallet du Pan was particularly deſired to recommend to the foreign powers never to place the emigrants in the foremoſt ranks, but rather to employ them in garriſon. This recommendation was attributed to the apprehenſions which they ſuppoſed had been ſuggeſted to the king of the extravagant claims which the emigrants might make if his majeſty was reduced to the humiliation of owing the re-eſtabliſhment of his authority to their ſervices. Although I am not ignorant that arts were uſed to inſpire both the king and queen with this odious jealouſy, I muſt do them the juſtice to declare, that I never obſerved the ſlighteſt trace of it in their majeſties. On the contrary, I always remarked in them every indication of friendſhip for the princes, and the warmeſt concern for the French nobility: above all, they evinced the utmoſt horror at the idea of a civil war. The king's moſt ardent deſire was, that the emigrants

emigrants might return into France without bearing the reproach of having ſhed a drop of their countrymen's blood.

I had contrived a cypher, which it was quite impoſſible to make out, without the key, which was known only to Mallet du Pan, myſelf, and M. Malouet, with whom the former was directed occaſionally to correſpond, to prevent the ſuſpicion which might have ariſen from a great many letters from Germany being addreſſed to me. It was agreed, that as ſoon as M. Malouet ſhould receive a letter, he was directly to communicate it to me; and that I ſhould tranſmit a copy of it to the king, as well as of all the letters from Mallet du Pan that came addreſſed to myſelf.

A few days after the arrival of Mallet du Pan in Germany, and after his firſt conferences with the duke of Brunſwick, and with the miniſters of the courts of Vienna and of Berlin, he wrote to me, that he had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the reception he had met with from M. de Caſtries, who had given him very favourable letters of

recommendation; but as his commiſſion was only ſupported by a letter from me, and as my intimacy with the king was not known in Germany, he ſeemed only to be attended to from deference to M. de Caſtries; and, that there was ſo much circumſpection and reſerve maintained, that he could promiſe himſelf no ſucceſs unleſs I could contrive to ſend him, by a ſafe conveyance, a few words written by the king himſelf. He did not require this paper to be ſigned, as the king's writing was known by thoſe for whom it was intended. I ſent the contents of this letter to his majeſty, and propoſed to him to write the following words on a very ſmall ſlip of paper:

"The perſon who preſents this paper, knows my intentions, and credit may be given to what he ſays in my name."

The poſt was a ſafe enough conveyance at that time, as the cuſtom of ſtopping and opening letters was not yet introduced. The letter intended to contain this writing was not folded or ſealed in any way which could attract the attention of the ſpies

which

which the aſſembly kept in the poſt-offices: it was not to be ſent to Mallet du Pan under his own name, but under the aſſumed name of a German banker. My letter was not in cypher, and did not contain a word of public affairs, or of the king's, but only the circumſtantial account of a conteſt ſuppoſed to have taken place betwixt the partners of a commercial houſe; the matter in queſtion was to bring the affair to an amicable concluſion, through the mediation of the German banker, to whom this letter was ſuppoſed to be written.

When the king read the above letter, he no longer apprehended any danger from ſending the few lines I deſired; he accordingly wrote them, and the letter was diſpatched to Mallet du Pan. It produced the deſired effect; for when the duke of Brunſwick and the miniſters from the courts of Vienna and Berlin ſaw the writing atteſted by M. de Caſtries, to be in the king's own hand, they no longer heſitated to explain themſelves reſpecting the plan

of a manifeſto which Mallet du Pan propoſed to them.

Every article of it was diſcuſſed with him, and the firſt intention was to adopt it; but, at the opening of the campaign, the duke of Brunſwick made conſiderable alterations in the manifeſto; the effect of which did not anſwer his intentions. His menaces were laughed at, except by the few who had the ſimplicity to imagine that his triumphant army would be at the gates of Paris in eight days. But, in general, ſo far from inſpiring terror and repreſſing ſedition, this ill-judged manifeſto excited the moſt lively indignation; and the king was ſuppoſed to have ſuggeſted thoſe articles which regarded the ſafety of his own perſon and family.

If Mallet du Pan had been preſent when the alterations in the manifeſto were propoſed, he would have certainly repreſented all the ill effect they were likely to produce; but he was then in Switzerland, having conſidered his miſſion as entirely con-

concluded when his plan of a manifeſto had been approved of and apparently adopted. When I heard of his departure from Germany, I wrote to him by the king's orders, deſiring him to return to Frankfort; but neither that letter, nor one which I wrote a few days after, with freſh inſtructions, ever were received by him; and I am ignorant what became of them. But into whatever hands they fell, nothing could be made of them, being both written in cypher, and addreſſed to one of his aſſumed names.

As it was by no means proper to allow Mallet du Pan to make ſo long a journey at his own expence, the king authoriſed me to give him the ſum of two thouſand crowns, which he thought too much, and would only receive on condition of his keeping an account of his expences, and returning the remainder.

The civil liſt was, at this period, greatly exhauſted by the enormous expence which the clothing, &c. of the king's new guards occaſioned; alſo by the aſſiſtance granted

to

to ſeveral gentlemen who had been ruined by the revolution, and by M. de la Port's daily payments for ſecret ſervices.

His majeſty having expreſſed to me ſome uneaſineſs upon the impending failure of the civil liſt, I conſidered in what manner I could procure a ſum of money, which was by no means an eaſy matter in the preſent circumſtances, becauſe the king could not then take up money by any public act without extreme danger.

Luckily, I was informed by one of my brothers, who was a knight of Malta, that the order to which he belonged ſtill retained in their poſſeſſion the eight hundred thouſand livres which they had engaged to pay for the contribution *patriotique*, on condition that the national aſſembly would decree the inviolability of the property belonging to that order; but as this decree never had been paſſed, and very probably never would, that money was ſtill at the diſpoſal of the order. Theſe conſiderations appeared to me ſufficient to induce the order of Malta to lend his majeſty part of

the ſum deſtined for the payment of the patriotic contribution; and I commiſſioned my brother to make the propoſal to the commander, who was procureur general of the order. He very readily agreed to it, and it met with no obſtacle from the baillie de Virieu, whoſe conſent was alſo neceſſary, as he was at that time ambaſſador of the order in France. In ſhort, after a negotiation of two days, I had it in my power to ſend the king a ſum of five hundred thouſand livres, at the moment when he leaſt expected it. His majeſty gave me a receipt, made out in my name, under which I wrote, "that the ſum was lent me by the order of Malta, according to my agreement with the procureur general." This paper I kept with great care, in a ſecret and ſafe place, till the 10th of Auguſt. I then returned it to that brave and loyal chevalier.

M. de Bouillé's ſtatement of the king's journey from Chalons to Varennes, when his majeſty and the royal family left Paris to go to Montmidi.

" In conſequence of the king and queen's order, M. de Bouillé informed M. de Goguelas, an officer of rank, of their majeſties' intention to go to Montmidi, and the arrangements he had made to receive them. That officer had been ſent to Paris a little before the king left it, and brought his majeſty's definitive orders to the general; in obedience to which he had ordered M. de Goguelas to reconnoitre the different poſts on their route, and to wait perſonally for their majeſties at Pontſommeville, the firſt poſt after paſſing Chalons, and three leagues beyond that town. M. de Goguelas carried a written order from the king, for the commander of the detachment at Chalons to obey M. de N———, who was to arrive there twelve hours before the royal family. M. de N——— himſelf was authoriſed by his majeſty to deliver the orders of M. de Bouillé to each officer commanding a detachment on this ſervice,

ſervice, and at the ſame time to give them particular orders conformable to any new circumſtance which might have occurred ſince that general had formed his plan.

"M. de N——— or M. de Goguelas were to arrive at each poſt from Pontſommeville, at a proper time previous to the royal family, to give the commanding officers timely notice that the troops, and every thing elſe neceſſary for the ſpeedy and ſafe paſſage of the carriages, ſhould be in readineſs all the way; M. de Bouillé, in the mean time, being in a central poſition, that he might have it in his power to protect the royal family, in caſe of neceſſity.

"Agreeable to this plan, M. de Goguelas had left Varennes to go to Pontſommeville on the 20th of June, with forty huſſars of the regiment of Lauſun, on the pretext of eſcorting a large ſum of money expected for the uſe of the troops. Theſe huſſars were under the command of M. Boudet, a lieutenant. They paſſed the night of the 20th at St. Menehoult, and arrived on the 21ſt at Pontſommeville. Forty dragoons of the regiment royal, command-

ed by M. d'Andouin their captain, arrived on the ſame day at St. Menehoult. A detachment of a hundred dragoons of the regiment of Monſieur, and ſixty of the regiment royal, came on the 20th to Clermont, on pretence of going into cantonments at Mouſon on the Meuſe, but with orders to remain, on the 21ſt, at Clermont. They were under the command of M. de Damas. Sixty huſſars of the regiment of Lauſun, commanded by M. Rodwel a lieutenant, were poſted at Varennes; a hundred of the ſame regiment, under the command of M. Deſlong, at Dun; fifty of the regiment of Royal Allemand, under M. Guntzer, were placed at Mouſe, a village between Dun and Stenai. This laſt were intended to have eſcorted the royal family all the way to Montmidi, where his majeſty would have found ſeveral regiments ready to form an encampment, which ſome others, already on their march, were to join on the 21ſt and 22d. Some of the commanding officers of thoſe detachments were privy to the plan; the others were in hourly expectation of meeting with the military

litary cheſt with the money. They had orders to hold their troops in conſtant readineſs, to watch attentively over every occurrence that ſhould take place at their reſpective poſts. A courier, who preceded the carriage of the royal family ſome hours, was to give theſe commanding officers timely notice of the king's arrival.

" The orders ſigned by the king, and to be preſented ſucceſſively to each detachment by M. de N——— and M. de Goguelas, enjoined the officers and ſoldiers to eſcort the king and his family, and to uſe every means in their power for their protection. Thoſe two gentlemen were to inform the king, when he arrived at Pontſommeville, of the diſpoſition of the troops intended for his eſcort, and his majeſty was then to give them orders reſpecting the manner in which he wiſhed to continue his route.

" In caſe the king thought proper to let himſelf be known, each detachment was to keep cloſe to the carriage all the way, till it was relieved by the ſucceeding detachment

at

at the new poſt: but if the king preferred remaining *incognito*, his carriage was to paſs for that which carried the military cheſt. The detachments were to fall behind at convenient diſtances, to give the king's party time to change horſes without ſuſpicion; at the ſame time not to loſe ſight, or to be at too great a diſtance for giving aſſiſtance in caſe of need. In either of thoſe ſuppoſitions, the officers who commanded the detachments were to be informed by M. de Choiſeuil or Goguelas, at the king's arrival at each poſt, that his majeſty was in the carriage: but it was only in caſe he did not think it neceſſary to preſerve the *incognito* that the private men of the detachments were to be informed. All the detachments were to proceed to Montmidi, after the king's paſſage, with all poſſible expedition, except that at Pontſommeville, which was to ſtop at St. Menehoult for eighteen or twenty hours, on purpoſe to prevent any perſon, of whatever deſcription, from proceeding during that time. M. de Bouillé was to take meaſures, during the

ſame

ſame period, for preventing any intelligence from arriving at his camp; and by this means ſecured to the detachment at St. Menehoult a ſafe retreat to Montmedi.

"As the croſs road from Varennes to Dun was bad, M. de Bouillé had the precaution to place a ſufficient number of horſes at the former, that the king, on his arrival, might find no difficulty or retardment to prevent his proceeding to Dun. Thoſe horſes belonged to M. de N———, and were ſent on the pretext of carrying his camp-equipage to Mouſon. When M. de N——— went to Paris to receive the king's orders, he had given directions to an officer of his regiment reſpecting thoſe horſes, which were to ſet out on the 17th of June, that they might be at Varennes on the 20th, and there remain till farther orders. This arrangement had been ſettled, on the ſuppoſition that the king would leave Paris on the 19th, as was at firſt intended: but a woman in the ſervice of the Dauphin, and known to be a violent democrate, being to finiſh her

weekly attendance on the 20th, it was thought prudent to defer the departure of the royal family till ſhe ſhould be out of the palace; of courſe they did not ſet out till the 20th, at midnight. M. de Bouillé was informed of this alteration by a letter from the king, which, however, he did not receive before the 15th, in the evening, and immediately ſent orders to the regiment royal and that of Monſieur, both dragoons, to begin their march a day later than had been formerly directed, on purpoſe that they might be at Clermont only one day previous to the arrival of the royal family: but unfortunately the officer, entruſted with the direction of the horſes, which were ſaid to tranſport M. de N——'s camp equipage, neglected to give freſh orders to thoſe who conducted them to Varennes, and of courſe they arrived at that town one day ſooner than was intended. The prolongation of their ſtay created thoſe ſuſpicions which afterwards proved ſo fatal. Thoſe horſes were not placed where it had been agreed upon they ſhould;

and

and when thoſe who were charged with the placing them arrived at Varennes, the ſuſpicions which had ariſen on their account had excited ſuch a fermentation, that it would not have been prudent to have attempted any alteration."

The report of M. Boudet.

" The detachments arrived in preciſe time at the place of their deſtination. The huſſars of the regiment of Lauſun came to St. Menehoult on the 20th of June; the officer quartered them at the inn, but he neglected to give the uſual information to the magiſtrates of the place relative to their route and quarters. This occaſioned a good deal of ſurpriſe and ſpeculation in the town, which were augmented by the arrival of a detachment of the king's regiment of dragoons in the morning of the 21ſt. The impreſſion which the conduct of the officer commanding the huſſars left on the minds of the inhabitants, made them watch the dragoons with jealous eyes.

They even attempted to take their arms from them.

" The king left the Thuilleries on the 20th, at midnight. His carriage broke down near Chalons. That accident detained him ſeveral hours. The royal family were expected at Sommevelle about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 21ſt. Although M. de N—— and M. de Goguelas had calculated that they would arrive about that hour, it was certainly their duty to remain there all that day with the detachment of huſſars, the inſtructions to whoſe commanding officers bore, that the convoy they were to eſcort would paſs in the *courſe* of that day: nevertheleſs, when thoſe two gentlemen ſaw no appearance of any courier, or of the arrival of the royal family, they left Sommevelle at five o'clock in the evening, carrying the whole detachment from that important poſt, from whence the directions to all the others were to originate. It is to be hoped that thoſe two officers had very ſtrong reaſons for conducting themſelves

ſelves in this manner, which, however, have never been fully made known. It has been ſaid, that what chiefly determined them was certain marks of inquietude and commotion which began to appear among the people in the country, the conſequences of which they thought might prove dangerous to the king and royal family.

" Meſſrs. de N——— and Goguelas withdrew the troops from Sommevelle at five o'clock in the evening, and their majeſties arrived there an hour after, finding neither the troops they expected, nor the two perſons who had been entruſted with their inſtructions, who were to act as couriers, and to give orders, ſignals, and directions to the troops diſtributed at the different poſts. Their majeſties, however, proceeded without any retardment to St. Menehoult, while the detachment which had left Sommevelle fell back to Varennes. By a fatality that ſeems to have invariably accompanied the king, the commanding officer of the detachment, not chooſing to return to St.

Menehoult, where he had been ill received the day before, inſtead of keeping to the high road, by which means he would have joined the royal family, ſtruck into a croſs road, where he loſt his way, as alſo did the two perſons entruſted with the king's orders: ſo that none of them reached Varennes until an hour after their majeſties had been arreſted.

"The royal family had come to St. Menehoult without any preceding courier. When they ſtopped to change horſes at the poſt-houſe, the commanding officer of the detachment of dragoons, ſuppoſing that thoſe were the carriages which it was his duty to eſcort, ordered the ſoldiers to mount, that he might fulfil the object of his miſſion. He met with a decided oppoſition from the inhabitants, and the ſtables were occupied and guarded by the national guards of the town.

"The king not ſeeing thoſe he expected, looked out of the carriage with the utmoſt uneaſineſs, and made many inquiries concerning the road. He was recognized by a poſt-

a poſtillion, who immediately ran and informed the poſt-maſter. The king's journey was not, however, ſtopped; he went on to Clermont, while the poſt-maſter of St. Menehoult diſpatched his ſon to Varennes, to give notice of his majeſty's approach, that meaſures might be taken to ſtop him. The king changed horſes again at Clermont, and was ſuffered peaceably to take the road to Varennes. M. de Damas, who commanded the royal dragoons and thoſe of Monſieur, expected the arrival of the courier every moment, according to agreement, and he kept his troops in readineſs, but had not been able to make any other preparations for the arrival of their majeſties. However, on being informed that two carriages, of which they gave him the deſcription, had changed horſes at the poſt-houſe, he had no doubt of their being thoſe of the king and queen. He immediately gave orders to his dragoons to mount. The diſtrict and municipality of the place were alarmed, and he was deſired to give an account of this unexpected order. M.

de Damas, without returning an anſwer, ſet ſpurs to his horſe, ordering his dragoons to follow him: but they, yielding to the threats and intreaties of the national guards, baſely deſerted their commanding officer. M. de Damas purſued alone the road to Varennes, and arrived a few minutes after their majeſties.

"The ſon of the poſtmaſter of St. Menehoult got the ſtart of the king by ſome hours. His departure from that town had been obſerved by one of the quarter-maſters of the regiment royal, who was in the ſecret, and who, ſuſpecting the young man's intentions, found means to eſcape the watchful obſervations of the populace, and of his own companions, and purſued the fellow, in order to prevent his fatal deſign. He followed him for about a league: but being afraid to puſh his horſe, which had a great way to go, he did not overtake him; and the fellow, perceiving himſelf purſued, ſuddenly quitted the high road, eſcaped into the woods, and through unbeaten tracks, known to himſelf, proceeded to Va-

rennes.

rennes. He arrived betwixt ten and eleven o'clock at night, and, with as little noiſe as poſſible, he awaked every perſon he thought neceſſary for his project, and barricaded with carts and waggons the bridge of Varennes, which ſeparated the *ville haute* from the *ville baſſe*.

" In the midſt of theſe preparations their majeſties arrived at the *ville haute*, and ſtopped at the firſt houſe, in hopes of finding freſh horſes ready for them: but in this they were diſappointed; the horſes intended for them were ſtill at an inn on the oppoſite ſide of the bridge. M. de Bouillé had ſent his youngeſt ſon and M. de Raigecourt to Varennes on the morning of the 21ſt, with orders to make the neceſſary preparations for the king's arrival. They had not ſufficient confidence in the officer who commanded the detachment at Varennes to truſt him with the ſecret, but they deſired him to hold his troops in readineſs to eſcort a convoy. They anxiouſly expected the arrival of the courier, as their orders were to make no preparation till he came. Beſides,

their

their very appearance in the town had created ſuſpicions, and the fear of increaſing them prevented their removing the horſes from the *ville baſſe* to the *ville haute*, until they ſhould receive notice of the king's arrival. The officer who commanded the detachment at Varennes had orders to eſcort a convoy which was of ſo much importance, that in caſe he perceived any diſpoſition in the people to obſtruct it, he was to order his troops to mount, make himſelf maſter of all the paſſages, and enforce the advancement of the convoy. But as none of theſe meaſures were executed, the poſt-maſter had full time to make all his criminal arrangements, without encountering the leaſt obſtacle.

" Their majeſties were very uneaſy on being informed, on their arrival, that there were no horſes in readineſs, and ſaw no appearance of the troops they expected for their protection. To add to their vexation, their poſtillions threatened to leave them. The queen alighted, and called at ſeveral houſes to obtain information reſpecting the horſes. Nobody knew her. She walked

for

for ſome time in the *ville haute* with the king, in expectation that ſome perſon would appear who would give them the information they ſtood ſo much in need of, but all in vain. They were obliged to return to their carriage without the expected ſatisfaction; and all they could do was to intreat the poſtillions to proceed with the ſame horſes. As they paſſed under an arch-way near the bridge, a band of ruffians, who lay in wait, ſtopped the carriages, ſeized upon the king, and forced him and his family to alight, and they were conducted priſoners to the houſe of the *procureur de la commune*. The king expoſtulated againſt this violence with equal firmneſs and dignity, but to no purpoſe. In a moment the ſtreets were barricaded, the ſtables of the huſſars ſurrounded, the national guards drawn up under arms, and the toceſin ſounded to alarm the country. The young de Bouillé and M. Raigecourt, on hearing the tumult, haſtened towards the hotel of the commandant, but found the ſtreets barricaded. They had time only to mount on horſe-

back,

back, to puſh through the armed crowds that oppoſed them, and to go with all poſſible expedition to inform general de Bouillé of what had happened.

" In leſs than an hour after the king was ſtopped, Meſſrs. de N—— and de Goguelas arrived at Varennes with the detachment from Pontſommevelle. At the gates of the town they found ſome pieces of cannon and a party of the national guards, who at firſt diſputed their entrance. They deſired to be made known to the ſixty huſſars in the town, who belonged to their regiment. M. Rodwell, who commanded thoſe huſſars, came to meet them alone. M. Boudet, the commanding officer of the detachment from Pontſommevelle, informed him that the company which had been ſtopped was actually the king and the royal family, and ordered him to take every neceſſary meaſure for the defence and ſurety of their majeſties: but Rodwell, in place of obeying his commanding officer, immediately left Varennes, on pretence that he muſt go and inform M. de Bouillé of what had happened;

pened; and he left the command of this important poſt to one of the quarter-maſters, who was extremely ill-affected to the king, as appeared by his keeping the huſſars in total inaction.

" The detachment of Pontſommevelle being the only troops well diſpoſed to the king in the town, reached the houſe where the royal family were detained, which they found ſurrounded by a number of national guards. M. de Goguelas, inſtead of attempting to diſperſe them by any orders to the detachment, addreſſed himſelf to the *procureur de la commune*, who ſtill affected not to know who the people he detained were, deſiring to be introduced to them. He was introduced accordingly, and on his return aſſured the people that it was unqueſtionably the royal family. This information rendered the multitude more obſtinate for detaining the royal family.

" M. de Goguelas, wiſhing to aſcertain whether the minds of the troops had not been corrupted by the town's-people, du-

ring his abſence, ordered them to prepare their arms *, and then very inconſiderately aſked whether they were for the king or the nation. They anſwered, "*Vive la nation! Nous tenons et tiendrons toujours pour elle.*"

"This anſwer, which the ſurrounding crowd had inſpired them with, plainly ſhewed no aſſiſtance could be expected for his majeſty in this ſeditious town. M. de Goguelas therefore, ſeeming to adopt the prevailing ſentiment, reſolved quietly to wait the arrival of a ſufficient force, to aſſiſt him in delivering their majeſties.

"While theſe events were paſſing at Varennes, M. de Bouillé was extremely uneaſy at receiving no intelligence. He had paſſed the night on horſeback betwixt Dun and Stenai. At laſt he rode to the highway which leads to Montmedi, that he might be at hand to give aſſiſtance, if neceſſary. He was at the gates of Stenai about four in the morning, when M. de Raigecourt, the chevalier de Bouillé, and M. de Rodwell brought him the unwelcome

* *Mettre haut les armes.*

news of the king being ſtopped. That inſtant, orders were given for the regiment *royal Allemand* to mount, but the horſes were not ſaddled, although their commanding officer had received orders the preceding evening to hold himſelf in readineſs by day-break, and although it was known in the regiment that the king was to paſs during the night. M. de Bouillé ſent, at the ſame time, to Montmedi, an order to M. de Klinglin, *marechal de camp*, to ſend one of the battalions of Naſſau towards Dun, and to expedite orders to the Swiſs regiment of Caſtellas, then on its march to Montmedi, to detach one of its battalions to Stenai, and there to attend his farther orders. M. de Bouillé alſo ſent orders to the detachments of Mouſe and Dun to march with all diligence to Varennes, giving them to know that he would ſoon follow with the regiment *royal Allemand*, and enjoining them, immediately upon their arrival, to uſe every means in their power for the deliverance of the royal family.

" M. de

" M. de Bouillé waited till the regiment of *royal Allemand* were quite ready, and then put himſelf at its head; after which, that he might aſſure himſelf of its diſpoſitions, he read the king's orders, informed the men of the occaſion of this march, and diſtributed money amongſt them. He found them extremely well diſpoſed, and they followed him with an alacrity which promiſed ſucceſs: but it was five o'clock in the morning when they ſet out."

Extract of M. de Long's report.

" M. de Long, who commanded, at this time, the detachment of Dun, occupied, with his huſſars, all the ſtreets and avenues of that town. On being informed, by M. Rodwell, of the diſtreſſing ſituation of the royal family, he marched to Varennes with his troops, without waiting the general's orders, leaving twenty-four men and an officer at Dun, in order to ſecure a free paſſage through that town. He was only an hour and a half in going five leagues betwixt Dun and Varennes. He arrived before this laſt

laſt town at five o'clock in the morning. His project had been to begin the attack immediately, and to make his way by force to the king; but when he reached the town, he perceived the barricades, which forced him to renounce his plan. The advanced poſt of the national guard required of M. de Long to attend them to the municipality, and explain the motives of his journey to Varennes. This he poſitively refuſed, and demanded entrance with his detachment, in order to join that which was in the town. They anſwered, that his demand was contrary to the king's orders. M. de Long being aſſured, by this anſwer, that the king was at Varennes, requeſted permiſſion to pay his reſpects to his majeſty. This was agreed to by M. Seignemont, commander of the national guards and chevalier de St. Lewis, who promiſed him protection, and gave his word of honour that he ſhould be allowed to ſpeak to the king, without any witneſs. For the greater ſurety that this promiſe would be adhered to, M. de Long exacted that an hoſt-

age ſhould be delivered to his huſſars. This was done. His ſcheme was to inform the king of the ſuccours that were arrived, and expected, and to obſerve whether it would be poſſible to force the barricades ſword in hand. He found them ſo ſtrong, particularly on the bridge, that he had no hopes of ſucceeding, unleſs he was joined by the huſſars under the command of M. Boudet. Having arrived at the houſe in which the royal family were confined, he ſaw, to his aſtoniſhment, thirty huſſars before it, commanded by one of the national guards; and this certitude of their defection deprived him of all hopes of his detachment's being allowed to enter the town. After waiting half an hour, he was introduced to the king. Seignemont, contrary to the word he had pledged, entered with him. When M. de Long reproached him in the preſence of his majeſty, his only apology was, that the citizens would not allow that he ſhould have any private conference with the king; yet he afterwards permitted M. de Long to talk a little, in the corner of the room, with

his majeſty, who was then informed of his real ſituation, and of the unſurmountable obſtacles which the barricades, and the defection of ſome of the troops, formed to the zeal of M. de Long. He was informed, at the ſame time, of the march of M. de Bouillé, at the head of the Royal Allemand.

"The king ſeemed in ſuch a ſtate of confuſion, that M. de Long repeated this information three times, from an apprehenſion that his majeſty had not heard what he had ſaid. At laſt he begged to have his majeſty's orders for M. de Bouillé.

"'You may acquaint him,' ſaid the king, 'that I am a priſoner; that I doubt much whether he can do any thing for me, but that I deſire he may do what he can.'

"M. de Long ſpoke alſo to the queen: but as ſhe ſtood very near to the commander of the national guards, he gave her the ſame information in German, that he had given to the king. That unhappy

princeſs complained bitterly of her perſecutors, and particularly that they would not permit her to proceed to Verdun, where ſhe and the children could more commodiouſly repoſe themſelves.

"The king deſiring M. de Long not to prolong the converſation in German, to prevent ſuſpicions, he took leave of their majeſties, aſking their orders aloud. The king replied,

" 'I am a priſoner, and have no orders to give.'

" M. de Long having arrived at his detachment, ſent a non-commiſſioned officer with an order to M. Boudet to attack thoſe who confined the royal family, while he ſhould force the barricades, and advance with his troops to their aſſiſtance. After a conſiderable interval, the non-commiſſioned officer returned, without having been able to ſpeak to M. de Boudet, who, with his detachment, was blocked up in the convent and garden of the Cordeliers.

" In thoſe circumſtances, M. de Long had no other reſource but to wait for the

arrival of the regiment of Royal Allemand: but he ſoon underſtood that the royal family, having been obliged to go into their carriages, were on the road to Paris, guarded by an armed multitude. He was joined by the chevalier de R——, and they endeavoured to croſs the river, in the intention of attacking the eſcort and delivering the king. They actually paſſed the firſt branch, but found the ſecond too deep; and ſeeing no poſſibility of ſuccouring the royal family, they determined to join M. de Bouillé; which they did, about nine o'clock in the morning, near Varennes. Greatly ſhocked at the information they brought, he was ſtill inclined to continue his march, and make a laſt attempt, but no perſon among the troops knew of any ford by which they could paſs the river which ſeparated them from the king. The horſes were nearly exhauſted with the long march they had already made, Stenai being more than five leagues from Varennes; beſides, the king having ſet out about an hour and

a half before, all purſuit ſeemed uſeleſs. There was therefore an abſolute impoſſibility of delivering the royal family; and M. de Bouillé, overwhelmed with grief, marched back with his troops to Stenai."

Beſides the above ſtatement, M. de Bouillé drew up a particular account, explanatory of the failure of this plan, for protecting the royal family in their journey from Paris to Montmedi, for the information of their majeſties *.

* *Vide* Appendix, No. X.

CHAP. XXV.

The decree of accuſation iſſued againſt Lariviére intimidates his colleagues.—Madame de Lamothe's Memoirs are ſecretly burnt at Seves.—Conſequences.—A band of ruffians, in the pay of the Jacobins, are employed to excite popular commotions.—The aſſembly paſs a decree for diſbanding the king's conſtitutional guards; and on the ſame day, one of accuſation againſt the duke de Briſſac.—The miniſters oblige the king to ſanction the decree for diſbanding the guards.—My letter, adviſing his majeſty to refuſe his ſanction, arrives too late.

AFTER the decree of accuſation againſt the judge Lariviére, none of his colleagues durſt venture to continue the legal proceedings on my complaint and that of M. de Montmorin. But one principal object we had in view was accompliſhed, namely, to render the impoſture of the

Auſtrian committee manifeſt to the public. This fable had been invented ſoon after the opening of the firſt aſſembly, with a deſign to exaſperate the people againſt the king, the queen, and all their faithful ſervants. The Jacobins, enraged at being deprived of that ground of calumny, watched for an opportunity of reviving it, and for that purpoſe they made a handle of a piece of imprudence committed by one of the clerks of a public office.

M. de la Porte had purchaſed, by the king's orders, the whole edition of the Memoirs of the famous madame de Lamothe, ſo full of calumny againſt the queen. He ordered them to be burnt with all the precaution and ſecrecy poſſible. The clerk who received the order had the imprudence to confide the execution of it to one named *Riſton*, an intriguing and ſeditious man, formerly an advocate at Nancy, who had committed ſeveral forgeries, and even fabricated the king's ſeal, for which he had been proſecuted before the tribunal of *Requêtes de l'Hotel*, where I myſelf, as a *maitre des*

des réquêtes, was employed in his croſs examination. On that occaſion I ran conſiderable danger, not only from the populace, who, being convoked by his hand-bills, filled the court, but alſo by the fury of the fellow himſelf, who attempted to aſſault me during the trial, and was with ſome difficulty prevented by the *huiſſiers*. He was acquitted, in conſequence of the new principles of patriotiſm then in vogue, but every body was convinced of his guilt. This ſame Riſton, finding himſelf entruſted with a commiſſion which intereſted the king, and appeared of the more importance on account of the myſterious manner in which it was ordered to be executed, was leſs ſolicitous to perform it effectually, than to make an oſtentatious diſplay of the confidence that had been placed in him. On the 30th of May, at ten o'clock in the morning, he ordered the Memoirs to be conveyed in a waggon, which he himſelf accompanied, to the china manufactory at Seves, where he cauſed a large fire to be made, and burnt the Memoirs in the preſence

ſence of all the workmen of the manufactory, who were expreſsly forbid to approach the fire. His oſtentatious precautions awakened curioſity, and gave riſe to a thouſand different conjectures. The fire kindled at Sêves was immediately made uſe of to inflame the minds of the Pariſian populace. That very day it was mentioned in the aſſembly, that ſtate papers had been carried at M. de la Porte's office, and burnt at Sêves. Briſſot and the Jacobin party inſiſted vehemently that the papers burnt with ſo much myſtery were the regiſters and letters of correſpondence of the very Auſtrian committee, of whoſe exiſtence they had ſo long endeavoured to convince the world.

M. de la Porte was ſummoned to the bar, and gave a faithful account of the affair as it ſtood. Riſton was alſo called, who confirmed the depoſition of M. de la Porte. But theſe explanations, ſatisfactory as they were, did not quiet the ferment which that affair had excited in the aſſembly. The Gironde party, who for ſome time had

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in view the *dechéance*, or abdication of the king, and of placing the prince royal on the throne, under a regency compoſed of their own party, ſeized eagerly this opportunity to prepare and facilitate the accompliſhing their purpoſe.

The courage and fidelity of the conſtitutional guards, formed an obſtacle to their plan which they wiſhed to remove, although they could have oppoſed to thoſe guards many thouſand armed ruffians, beſides a choſen band actually in the pay of the Jacobins.

Buob (the juſtice of peace before mentioned) gave me the following information on this head:

"The men, thus retained, received, at firſt, five livres a day: but as their numbers increaſed, their pay was reduced to forty ſous. Deſerters, and ſoldiers who had been turned out of their regiments, were choſen in preference to any others. Their number, in the beginning of March, was ſeven hundred and fifty, as appeared by an extract from the account of their laſt payment.

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This band was commanded by a chevalier of St. Lewis, to whom they were forced to take an oath of unlimited obedience on their admiſſion. He himſelf received his orders from the ſecret committee of the Jacobins. This new corps mixed with the ſpectators in the tribunes of the aſſembly, at the clubs, in the meetings of the ſections, and with the groups in the Palais Royal: but their principal ſervice conſiſted in exciting and ſupporting popular tumults."

To pave the way to the king's *dechéance* or abdication, the Girondiſts wiſhed to intimidate him by an inſurrection of the populace againſt the palace; and to render this effectual, they thought it neceſſary to obtain a decree of the aſſembly for diſbanding the conſtitutional guards. They made a handle of the fermentation occaſioned by the ſcene at Sêves, to aſſert that thoſe guards were in a ſtate of counter-revolution; that they had actually received from the king and queen a white flag, to be

uſed

uſed on ſome proper occaſion; but which at preſent was concealed in a cavern under the *Ecole Militaire.*

The place was ſearched, and no ſuch flag found. Nothing was found that had any connection with the imaginary committee; yet a decree of accuſation was on the point of being paſſed againſt all the officers of the king's guard; but the apprehenſion of exciting the whole corps againſt the aſſembly, reſtrained this; and the decree was confined to the brave and unfortunate duc de Briſſac, who was next day conducted to the priſon at Orleans, and afterwards maſſacred with the other priſoners.

The king was perfectly ſenſible, that the motive of the decree for diſbanding his guard, was no other than to deprive him of the protection of thoſe brave men whom it was well known would defend his life at the hazard of their own. He was extremely agitated; and the morning after the decree paſſed, he ſent for his miniſters at an early hour, and communicated a letter to them, which he intended to ſend to the aſſembly.

aſſembly, announcing his refuſal to ſanction the decree: but they all refuſed to counterſign his letter; and conſequently it could not be ſent. His majeſty then propoſed to go in perſon to the aſſembly, and pronounce a diſcourſe, in which he would give his reaſons for not ſanctioning the decree; but all the miniſters refuſed to attend him to the aſſembly: they even carried their baſeneſs or perfidy the length of aſſerting, that every man of the guard would be maſſacred by the people if they were not immediately diſbanded, and that every individual in the palace would be endangered by his majeſty's deferring to ſanction the decree. In ſhort, the unhappy prince, without taking time to reflect, conſented to ſanction that fatal decree.

An hour after having ſigned his ſanction, he received my letter: in which, not knowing what had paſſed, I ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of his forcing the aſſembly to adhere to the conſtitution; which, in allowing the king to have a guard of 1800 men,

men, had not given the legiſlative body any authority over it; reminding him that it was to the king alone that all complaints ought to be carried or addreſſed againſt the guard in general; and that the authority of the aſſembly was limited to the receiving complaints, and to iſſuing decrees of accuſation againſt any individual of that guard who might give grounds for them; and who would of courſe be tried by the proper courts.

Before I received the king's anſwer, I heard, with equal regret and ſurpriſe, that the decree was already ſanctioned; and that the duke of Briſſac had been ſent as a priſoner to Orleans. He had reſiſted the earneſt entreaties of his family and friends, who ſuggeſted to him the means of eſcape, and thought he could have no ſecurity for his life but by flight.

I received the king's anſwer that evening; it was written with his own hand on the margin of my letter, which was our eſtabliſhed form of correſpondence. With every letter I wrote, I ſent him back that which

which I received from him the day before, only taking notes from it; ſo that his letters never remained twenty-four hours in my hands. I propoſed this method to the king, to prevent his having any uneaſineſs about his letters. Mine were delivered to the king or queen, and their anſwers brought to me by one of the captains of the guard, whoſe zeal and attachment were known to them.

It would have been imputed to their majeſties as a crime to carry on any kind of correſpondence at this time with me; I judged it highly improper therefore to ſubject them to the leaſt riſk or uneaſineſs by keeping even copies of the letters which paſſed on this occaſion. Independent of this conſideration, it is to be regretted that I did not keep copies of them all, becauſe they would have teſtified his ſcrupulous fidelity to the conſtitution, his affection for his people, and the abſolute falſhood of the various calumnies invented for the baſeſt purpoſes againſt both him and the queen. M. Malouet is the only perſon now alive

who

who ſaw the originals of the greateſt part of thoſe letters by the king's permiſſion: that gentleman can atteſt the truth of what I have now ſaid. As I retained notes which could not be underſtood by thoſe into whoſe hands I was afraid of the originals falling, I am enabled to ſubjoin his majeſty's anſwer to my letter reſpecting the diſbanding of the guards, which was in the following terms:

"Unfortunately it is no longer time to do as you propoſe: the miniſters aſſured me, that the ferment of the people is ſo violent, that the ſanction of the decree could not be deferred without expoſing the guards, and every perſon in the palace, to the greateſt danger. I gave this ſanction much againſt my will; but the evil cannot be remedied."

No remedy indeed remained after the decree was ſanctioned; and I was the more diſtreſſed at what had happened, as in ſpite of the defection of the miniſters on this occaſion, I was convinced that great advantage might have been taken of the

aſſembly, could the king have been prevailed upon to have acted with energy; and my letter might have had ſome weight with him, had he received it before he ſanctioned the decree.

My intention was to propoſe to his majeſty to go to the aſſembly, accompanied by ſix principal officers of his guard, and a hundred guards on horſeback; part of which would have remained at the entrance, by the gate of the Feuilans, and part at the *Place de Vendome*, while the remainder would have gone by the quay to the *Place de Lewis* XV. I would have propoſed to his majeſty to announce his intention of going to the aſſembly only a quarter of an hour before he went; and, that on his arrival, he ſhould pronounce the following diſcourſe:

" Gentlemen, we have all taken an oath to the conſtitution; by your's, you are bound to infringe it in no point; and mine obliges me to maintain it by all the power which the conſtitution has delegated into my hands. I come here in the execution

of

of that duty to ſtate to yourſelves the irregularity of that decree by which my conſtitutional guards are ordered to be diſbanded on account of certain accuſations, which, however ſerious in themſelves, and however well-founded, can only criminate a few individuals. That decree is directly in contradiction to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, which has ordered and regulated that guard. This article of the conſtitution is equally binding with all the others: they were all, without exception, adopted by yourſelves, and conſecrated by the oath of the majority of the nation; and that oath, you as well as me have ſworn to adhere to inviolably. By this ſolemn engagement, it is my duty to declare to you, that I never can ſanction the decree for diſbanding my guard; and it is your part to repair your error by a ſpeedy revocation; for, if you adhere to that decree, you uſurp a power which you have not received from the conſtitution, and thereby make your own opinion prevail over that of the nation; in which caſe

you can no longer be regarded as its repreſentatives.

"If there is juſt cauſe of complaint againſt any of the officers or ſoldiers which the conſtitution has attached to my perſon, you are authorized to iſſue a decree of accuſation againſt them; but that decree cannot extend farther. Haſten then to return within the limits of your legal power, which I am ſo far from intending to circumſcribe, that to ſecure to you the full exerciſe of it, even at this moment, and to prevent any criminal from eſcaping, I have ordered all my guards to be aſſembled, and ſo to remain until you give orders to apprehend for trial every individual among them, againſt whom you have any proofs."

Previous to his majeſty's going to the aſſembly, I ſhould have taken care to have filled the tribunes with a conſiderable number of the friends of the conſtitution, to applaud the king's diſcourſe, and to repreſs, by marks of diſapprobation, every

contrary motion. Numerous placards paſted up the preceding day; hand-bills diſtributed in profuſion; intelligent emiſſaries mixing in the groups, coffee-houſes, and public walks, ſhould have prepared the minds of the people for this meaſure, by repreſenting the decree for diſbanding the conſtitutional guards in its true colours, namely, as a violent infringement of the conſtitution, and an uſurpation of the lawful right of his majeſty.

It would have been prudent, at the ſame time, to have ordered the three thouſand Swiſs, who were then at Courbevoye, to advance to the heights of Paſſy, under pretence of being reviewed. This corps, with their brethren, at that time on duty in the Thuilleries, and the conſtitutional guards, commanded by ſuch a brave and intelligent officer as M. d'Hervilly, would have compoſed, in caſe of need, a ſufficient force to ſuppreſs any inſurrection which the Jacobins might have raiſed.

I very inconſiderately communicated the above plan to the king, of which I afterwards repented, as it could only ſerve to augment his regret for having ſanctioned the decree. This unfortunate monarch was already ſo much to be pitied, that it was barbarous not to ſpare him whatever tended uſeleſsly to aggravate his uneaſineſs. The anſwer which he wrote, as uſual, on the margin of my letter, made me ſenſible of my indiſcretion: it was as follows:

"You know, I cannot undo what is done; my ſoul is full of ſorrow. What can I do, ſurrounded as I am, and with no perſon near me in whom I can truſt?"

This ſad truth was confirmed by the fatal conſequences of the diſbanding the guards, which renewed with bitterneſs the king's regret for having ſo precipitately gone into the ſanction of that decree. But by a fatality which ſeemed attached to him, and which was always moſt remarkable on the moſt critical occaſions, thoſe meaſures which required the greateſt deliberation,

and on which he ought to have conſulted the perſons moſt worthy of his confidence, were ſometimes thoſe which he adopted moſt haſtily; whereas, on meaſures whoſe ſucceſs depended on celerity, he often deliberated until his adopting them became uſeleſs, and even hurtful.

CHAP. XXVI.

The decrees againſt the nonjuring prieſts, and for forming a camp in the neighbourhood of Paris.—Diviſion in the cabinet on that occaſion.—Dumourier prevails on the king to diſmiſs three of his miniſters.—Miaczenſki.—The king prevents a pamphlet from being publiſhed againſt Dumourier.—Fabrication of aſſignats in the priſon.—Important diſcoveries reſpecting the troubles in St. Domingo.—The Mulatto Raimond.—Reſignation of Dumourier.—A ſingular letter from him to M. de Laroſiere.

THE aſſembly, whoſe uſurpations increaſed in proportion as the king's powers of reſiſtance were weakened, paſſed two moſt atrocious decrees in the beginning of June 1792. The firſt was for the baniſhment of the prieſts who had refuſed to take

take the oath; and the ſecond was for the formation of a camp of twenty thouſand men in the environs of Paris, to conſiſt of volunteers from every department of the kingdom. It was very well known, that thoſe volunteers would every where be choſen by the Jacobins, whoſe power was univerſally felt, and had impreſſed ſuch general terror as gave them complete ſway in every election; ſo that this army muſt of courſe have been made up of their creatures, the moſt ſeditious and deſperate villains in the kingdom. The motive given for this decree, was the ſafety of the capital. Upon that pretence, Servan the miniſter, in connivance with the Girond party, without an order from the king, or without communicating his intentions to his colleagues, propoſed the meaſure in a letter to the preſident of the aſſembly. His real view was to ſecure a ſufficient force againſt the royaliſts who remained in Paris, and that portion of the national guards who were known to be attached to the king

and

and to the conſtitution, which the Jacobins, as was now evident, intended to overturn.

The king ſhewed the utmoſt repugnance to ſanction either of theſe decrees, in ſpite of the threatening intimations he daily received from his miniſters Rolland, Claviere, and Servan.

At that time a quarrel ſubſiſted betwixt theſe miniſters and their colleagues, who, Jacobins as they were, ſeemed touched with the king's misfortunes, and always behaved to him with reſpect. They were ſhocked with the conduct of Rolland, Claviere, and Servan, and determined to take this opportunity to get them diſmiſſed. Dumourier, with the approbation of his colleagues Duranthon and la Coſte, undertook to propoſe three new miniſters to the king. His majeſty accepted the propoſal with the joy of a perſon who feels himſelf ſuddenly relieved from a heavy load under which he was ready to ſink. Soon after the meaſure was determined on, I was informed

formed of it by a letter from the king, in anſwer to one I had written the day before, in which I begged to receive his orders reſpecting a virulent pamphlet againſt Dumourier, which the author would not publiſh without his majeſty's conſent. In the margin of my letter, the king wrote the following words:

"Prevent any thing from being publiſhed againſt Dumourier, who conducts himſelf well at this moment; and has helped to free me from three miniſters, who endeavoured to force me to ſanction the two decrees."

I had had a very extraordinary converſation, two days before, with a Poliſh nobleman, marechal de camp in the French ſervice, an intimate friend of Dumourier, and at that time employed in the northern army; his name was Miaczenſki. That man, with whom I was till then wholly unacquainted, ſent a certain perſon to requeſt a meeting with me betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock at night, as he wiſhed

to

to talk upon ſubjects of the utmoſt importance.

It was near midnight when he entered my houſe: he began by apologizing for having kept me waiting; but ſaid, that being poſitively informed that my houſe was watched, he had walked three quarters of an hour in the ſtreet, and did not ſtop at my door until he was certain of not being obſerved. He then aſked, with an air of inquietude, if my cloſet did not communicate with any other apartment from which our converſation might be heard; and, after I had made him eaſy on that point, he laid open the important ſecret. I heard every thing he had to ſay without interruption, becauſe I remarked a certain expreſſion of low cunning in his countenance, which prejudiced me againſt him, and put me on my guard. I ſuſpected this man to be a ſpy of Dumourier's, or an agent of the committee *des recherches*. He began by talking to me of his birth and fortune; of the motives which attached

tached him to the French ſervice, and of a very ſerious conteſt he had had with M. de Vergennes, of which he had publiſhed a long and circumſtantial account. He laid that publication on my table, after having read ſome paſſages of it to me, in order to convince me that he was neither an adventurer, nor a perſon to be at all ſuſpected.

"I have the honour of being related to the queen," added he, "to which I owe my advancement in the ſervice. Aſſuredly their majeſties have not a more faithful or zealous ſervant than myſelf: it was only with a view of being uſeful to them that I remained in France, that I have ſought to be employed in the army, deceived that knave Dumourier, have paſſed on him for his friend, and obtained his whole confidence; for there was no other means of watching him narrowly. He is more dangerous than can be imagined by perſons unacquainted with his ambition and want of principle. Every morning I ſpend an hour or two *tete-à-tete* with him: he is extremely talkative;

talkative; he conceals nothing from me; and, if you have any curioſity, I can give you a regular account of his plans, his projects, and all his ſecrets."

"I know not any purpoſe that would anſwer, ſir," ſaid I; "and, as it is what I have no concern in, I have not the leaſt curioſity to know: but are not you going ſoon to join the army?"

"Yes, ſir; and that is the ſubject on which I wiſhed to talk with you; becauſe it is an occaſion in which I can render the king an important ſervice. I am to command the van-guard; and, as I know the country better than any of the general officers, they place great confidence in me. I am certain they will not heſitate to make the army take whatever poſition I ſhall point out. There is one poſition which ſeems very ſafe and advantageous; in which, nevertheleſs, by informing the general of the enemy, I may be attacked in ſuch a manner, that the van-guard muſt be cut in pieces; the conſequences of which, you will readily believe, will be, that the whole

army

army muſt, of neceſſity, be either killed on the ſpot, or made priſoners."

"You will arrange matters, I hope," ſaid I, "in ſuch a manner, that you yourſelf will be in the latter predicament."

"Unqueſtionably, ſir!" anſwered he.

"Have you no kind of doubt of the complete ſucceſs of this complicated operation?"

"Not the leaſt," anſwered he; "and you can have no doubt of the confuſion which ſo unexpected a defeat muſt make at Paris. It would at once produce the ruin, perhaps the maſſacre, of all the Jacobins, and of the national aſſembly, and create ſuch a deteſtation of the new conſtitution as will ſoon bring back to the king his ancient authority. There is but one ſmall difficulty," continued he; "you know that all diſcipline and ſubordination is deſtroyed in the army: there is no means of ſecuring the obedience of the ſoldiers, but by gaining their affections by regaling them with brandy and wine. This

This method I did not neglect as long as I had the means; but now my money is exhausted, and I cannot continue it, so as to retain the confidence of the soldiery, to that degree that is requisite for so decisive a measure, without the sum of about 200,000 livres, which I am persuaded the king will readily advance, provided you will lay my plan before him, and support it by your credit."

"I should be very sorry, sir," said I, "to propose such a scheme to his majesty, as I know it would be the means of losing his confidence for ever. How is it possible, that, knowing the king's character, you could imagine that such a project could be agreeable to him? and I am no less astonished at your choosing me, who have not the honour of being acquainted with you, for your confident on such an occasion."

"I addressed myself to you, sir, as being, of all the former ministers, the most sincerely attached to the king, and the most capable

capable of appreciating the ſervice I wiſh to render him; the importance of which, perhaps, upon mature conſideration, you will come to be more ſenſible of."

"It requires no conſideration at all," anſwered I. "Reflection could only ſerve to confirm me in my opinion. I am inclined to believe in the ſincerity of your profeſſions of attachment to the king; you may therefore rely on my prudence. I ſhall endeavour to forget the project which you have revealed to me; I adviſe you to do the ſame, and, above all, never to mention it to another perſon on earth."

The next day I acquainted his majeſty with this converſation. He approved of the manner in which I had received Miaczenſki's propoſal; and added, that he knew him to be a worthleſs fellow, and was convinced that his ſole object was to obtain money.

I ſhould never have done, were I to relate all the ſingular viſits which my known attachment to the king at this time procured me. I was aware, that under colour

of zeal for his majeſty, many propoſals were made to me for the purpoſe of diſcovering if I ſtill interfered in his affairs, what my intentions were, and if I had the diſpoſal of any part of the civil liſt. Fortunately I had acquired the habit of regarding every propoſal as a ſnare, and I adopted only ſuch as I thought advantageous for his majeſty; and even theſe with ſuch preçautions, that whatever might happen, I riſked nothing. Of this I ſhall only give one inſtance. The chevalier de Langle, a gentleman of Brittany, whoſe family I had known while in that province, one day preſented himſelf before me in a ſtate of the utmoſt wretchedneſs. He had juſt got out of the priſon *de la Force*, where he had been ſix months confined, through the miſtake, as he ſaid, of the *police correctionelle*. However he did not by any means make that clearly out, in the account he gave me of the affair. He had to ſpeak to me, he ſaid, on a ſubject of the utmoſt importance, but firſt begged that I would order him ſomething to eat, as he was ready to die of hunger.

hunger. He afterwards talked to me of his literary talents, and, as a ſpecimen, he offered me a copy of his travels through Spain. He next read to me the two firſt pages of a journal which he intended publiſhing, intitled, *Poſtillon de la Guerre.* It was tolerably well written, and in favour of conſtitutional royalty. I did not heſitate to advance him three hundred livres which he required for the expence of the firſt impreſſion.

He informed me, that while he was in priſon he had ſeen ſeveral thouſand falſe aſſignats fabricated by the priſoners, who ſold them, at a very low price, to perſons who came to ſee them; that the commiſſaries of the municipality, who viſited the priſons once a week, always ſeized on all the aſſignats they could diſcover, but that they never made the leaſt ſearch after the inſtruments uſed in making them.

Convinced, as I was, that forged aſſignats were the principal reſource of the Jacobins for the immenſe expence which their ſchemes required, I ſaid to the chevalier,

that it would be an act of patriotism, greatly for his interest, to publish the account he had just given me, in the form of a petition, addressed to the national assembly; and that he might claim the reward promised to every one who denounced false assignats. The instances mentioned, of considerable gratifications granted on such occasions, at once determined him to follow my advice; and he gave in his petition next day: but the committee to which it was referred being, without doubt, apprehensive of its producing the effect I hoped for, would not report it, and prevented the chevalier from obtaining permission to speak during a fortnight that he daily presented himself at the bar of the assembly. I advised him to publish the petition, addressed to the members of the assembly, under the title of a plot against the nation. He was the more inclined to follow this advice, as I enforced it by an assignat of two hundred livres, given in advance for the expence of the impression. He promised to repay me both sums out of the reward he had a

right to expect from the aſſembly. Whether he ever received any I know not. What I do know is, that he never repaid me. There aſſuredly never exiſted a more indefatigable walker than this chevalier. Every morning, as ſoon as his paper was drawn up, he went over the town, the ſuburbs, through all the public walks, into the clubs and coffee-houſes, and was the firſt to give me an account of every intereſting occurrence; and on comparing his reports with thoſe I received from my other agents, I uſually found them exact.

One day, in converſing with me on the troubles of St. Domingo, he entered into details, of which I ſhould never have conceived him to have any knowledge. On my expreſſing ſome ſurpriſe, he told me, that nobody had a better opportunity than himſelf of being informed of every circumſtance relating to that colony, as he was intimately acquainted with the miſtreſs of the mulatto Raimond, who was agent of the mulattos of St. Domingo; that this man

had the greateſt confidence in her, and allowed her to read all his papers; that of courſe ſhe knew every particular of his correſpondence with Domingo, all which ſhe divulged to de Langle, being diſſatisfied with Raimond for not paying her ſo liberally as ſhe expected.

This intelligence was the more intereſting, as the troubles of the colonies had been excited, and were at this time kept up by the manœuvres of a party known by the name of *les amis des noirs*, at the head of which were Briſſot and Condorcet. It was alſo known that a conſiderable contribution had been raiſed from the richeſt mulattos of St. Domingo, and ſent to Paris: but the preciſe manner in which this money had been employed had never been aſcertained; and I hoped that this correſpondence would throw light upon the ſubject, and furniſh powerful arms againſt the king's moſt dangerous enemies. That conſideration alone was ſufficient to make me ardently deſire, at any rate, to

get

get poſſeſſion of papers of ſuch importance: but before I expreſſed this deſire to the chevalier de Langle, I wiſhed to be more clearly informed of the particulars of the correſpondence; and I commiſſioned him to uſe all his addreſs to engage Raimond's miſtreſs to examine anew theſe papers the firſt convenient opportunity, and to read thoſe of the oldeſt date with ſuch attention as would enable her to repeat the heads of what they contained.

This commiſſion was fulfilled in a few days, with all the intelligence I could deſire. The chevalier read me a note of the woman's dictating, by which it appeared, that the firſt parcel contained minutes of inſtructions and plans ſent to St. Domingo in the year 1790 and 1791, for the purpoſe of exciting, conducting, and ſupporting the inſurrection of the negroes; and alſo copies of printed pamphlets and hand-bills, which were to be diſtributed in the colony.

The ſecond parcel contained the draught of a plan, and the regiſter of a contribution to be raiſed upon the mulattos of St. Domingo, the ſum total of which amounted to above ſeven millions of livres. To theſe papers was joined a memorial reſpecting the manner in which the money was to be employed. Great part of it was to be ſent to Paris, to reward the paſt, and purchaſe new ſervices of ſeveral members of the aſſembly and of the Jacobin clubs, to pay lawyers, writers of pamphlets, and journaliſts, to defray the expence of printing placards, &c.

The third contained a great number of original letters, addreſſed to Raimond by his correſpondents of St. Domingo, and notes of his anſwers. One of the letters announced, that nearly a million had been ſent to Paris, "*en attendant mieux.*" And it appeared, by one of his letters, that Briſſot had been entruſted with the ſum of 300,000 livres; Condorcet with 150,000; the Abbé Gregoire 80,000; and Petion 60,000:

60,000: but Robeſpierre would accept of no money, either for the purpoſe of diſtribution or gratification, although he ſerved the cauſe with equal zeal.

The lady had not had time to read more: but this was ſufficient to augment my eagerneſs to have the correſpondence in my own hands; and I aſked the chevalier if it would be poſſible to procure me theſe papers for eight days, upon pretence that a perſon, who was writing a hiſtory of the troubles in St. Domingo, deſired to ſee them. He ſaid he was ſure the lady would be prevailed upon, by my ſending her the ſum of a hundred louis, which ſhe had the moſt preſſing occaſion for at that time. I was afraid that the giving ſuch a ſum would raiſe ſuſpicions in her mind detrimental to the ſucceſs of the negociation; I therefore deſired the chevalier to let her know I would not *give* her ſo much, but ſince ſhe was in temporary difficulties, I would venture to *lend* her a thouſand crowns, which ſhould be put into her hand at the ſame time that ſhe delivered up the papers to the perſon

perſon I ſhould ſend to examine and receive them. She eagerly accepted my offer, and ſent me word, that ſhe hoped the affair would be concluded by the end of the week. I had alſo promiſed a thouſand livres to the chevalier de Langle if he ſucceeded in his negociation; and he had already received part of it. Unluckily, before the lady could find an opportunity of taking the papers out of Raimond's cloſet, he ſet off for Auteuil, in the intention of paſſing the ſummer there. She flattered herſelf that ſhe ſhould perſuade him to return, and have it in her power to fulfil our agreement; and the chevalier, to whom I had by this time paid up the whole ſum, kept me in the ſame hopes: but the cataſtrophe of the 10th of Auguſt prevented their being ever realized.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the chagrin I felt at the unlucky iſſue of a ſcheme, the ſucceſs of which might have been of ſo much conſequence to the king, in the unhappy ſituation he then was.

Two

Two days after the diſmiſſion of Rolland, Claviere, and Servan, Dumourier perceived that their friends attributed the diſgrace of theſe three miniſters entirely to him; that this idea alienated the majority of the aſſembly from him and from the Jacobins; he therefore determined to ſacrifice every appearance of conſiſtency, and all conſideration for the feelings of his ſovereign, in order to regain his popularity. He muſt have been very ſenſible that the king never would ſanction the decrees reſpecting the camp and the prieſts, particularly that which regarded the latter; and although, ſo far from combating his majeſty's repugnance, he had ſupported him in it, and inſtigated the diſmiſſion of the three miniſters who were for paſſing thoſe decrees, he now had the baſeneſs and effrontery to propoſe to his majeſty either to ſanction theſe very decrees, or receive his reſignation. He added, that from the bad effect which the diſmiſſion of the miniſters had produced, his ſervices would be more prejudicial than uſeful, if theſe decrees were not paſſed. It

was

was in vain that his majeſty remonſtrated againſt this unbecoming conduct. Dumourier perſiſted, and his reſignation was accepted.

I received a letter from the king on this occaſion, in which he ſays,

"Only conceive the ſtrange inconſiſtency of this man; after having perſuaded me to diſmiſs thoſe three miniſters, becauſe they inſiſted on my ſanctioning the decrees, he now abandons me for perſiſting in the meaſure which *he* himſelf urged."

This obſervation was certainly very juſt: but it is ſtill more inconceivable, that in ſpite of the notoriety of the above facts, Dumourier has had the aſſurance to advance, in his Memoirs, that at the time of the diſmiſſion of the three miniſters, the king had ſolemnly promiſed to him to ſanction the decree; and that he had given in his reſignation for no other reaſon but becauſe the king changed his mind two days after, and refuſed to fulfil his promiſe.

It may ſeem extraordinary that a man, who is ſo unfaithful in relating what is paſt,

paſt, ſhould have come near to truth in indicating what was to come. Of this there is an inſtance in a letter which he wrote to M. de Laroſiere, dated 16th December 1789. I copied the following extract from the original, and now give it as a curioſity to the public:

" Cherbourg, Dec. 1789.

" * * * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

" Your ſon-in-law told me of your adventure at Rennes. As I have always found you more of an ariſtocrate than myſelf, but particularly in our laſt converſation with M. de Montmorin, I was apprehenſive for your ſafety in the preſent circumſtances, but am glad to hear that you have ſo happily extricated yourſelf.

" Remain peaceably at your eſtate till ſpring; then I fear you will have occaſion to exert your military talents againſt foreigners. Our liberty will be attacked by a coalition of kings, and the courtiers will form a light ſquadron, prancing backwards and forwards between the parties. It is then

that

that men like us, diſtinguiſhed for conduct and talents, will become chiefs of the nation, to defend its freedom. The king himſelf is with us, and will not abandon the good cauſe. Every ſtep we take in ſupport of liberty will be conſidered as legal.

"My old friend, never loſe ſight of this, leſt you be led aſtray. The revolution is already accompliſhed, by means, perhaps, reprehenſible, if we ſtill adhere to the prejudices which exiſted two years ago: but now we are free, although, perhaps, at the expence of our repoſe. Your children will be happier than you. Impreſs that idea on their minds. Render them proud of their liberty. Render them capable of ſupporting your reputation under more propitious auſpices; for we were ſlaves, and enjoy, by anticipation, their approaching happineſs and glory.

"Theſe, my friend, are the new ſentiments to which we muſt adhere. Should I find them to deaden in the breaſts of my countrymen, I would be the firſt to revive

them. This patriotic enthuſiaſm is far from extinguiſhing in me the mild ſenſations which form my felicity. Friendſhip is the ſentiment deareſt to my heart; and under that revered title I ſalute you very cordially. My reſpects to madame Larofiere. Aſſure your children that you have in me a ſincere friend.

DUMOURIER."

CHAP. XXVII.

The real motive for the two decrees.—A ſecretary of Condorcet's pays a viſit to M. de Leſſart in priſon, and informs him of the projects agreed upon in the ſecret committee of the Jacobins.—M. de Leſſart writes an account of this to me.—I ſend his letter to the king.—Petitions againſt one of the decrees.—The attempt of the 20th of June.—Proclamation.—The good effect it produces.—Decree of the department ſuſpending Petion.—The king forced to pronounce on that decree, and to confirm it.—The aſſembly repeals it.—The king's fatal forebodings.—An intereſting converſation with him upon the event of the 20th of June.—Plan which I propoſed to his majeſty.—His motives for not adopting it.

I ALWAYS thought that the decrees concerning the prieſts, and for the camp of 20,000 men, were iſſued in the hopes that the

the king would refuſe his ſanction, and that this refuſal would naturally lead to an inſurrection. The Gironde party flattered themſelves by this means to haſten the execution & their plan againſt the king and the monarchy. A remarkable letter I received from M. de Leſſart, ſome days before thoſe decrees were iſſued, and which I had communicated to the king, confirmed me in that opinion. It was in ſubſtance as follows:

"That a perſon, who had been under great obligations to M. de Leſſart before the revolution, and who was then ſecretary to Condorcet, paſſing through Orleans, had gone to the priſon to viſit his benefactor, and had a converſation of two hours with him; that in the courſe of this converſation, M. de Leſſart having queſtioned him concerning the projects of the Jacobins, the man, either from motives of gratitude, or from the idea that he had nothing to fear from the indiſcretion of a priſoner, whoſe proceſs would probably draw to a great length, immediately gave an account of all

he knew, on promiſe of ſecrecy. This ſecretary told him, that the preſent object of the ſecret committee of Jacobins was to form a plan of inſurrection for attacking the Thuilleries, of the ſame kind with that of the 5th of October 1789, at Verſailles, with a view to puſh the king to abdicate the crown, or to take flight; that in either of theſe caſes they would name a council of regency, compoſed of the principal chiefs of the Jacobins; that if the king eſcaped this firſt inſurrection, without either abdicating or leaving the kingdom, it was their determination to find ſome pretext for exciting a freſh inſurrection, with a view to terrify the national aſſembly, and force them to pronounce his *decheance*, and afterwards to pronounce the prince royal king, with a council of regency; all which was to pave the way to what was the great and ultimate object of the Gironde party, namely, to eſtabliſh a republic, which they thought the nation was not prepared for at the preſent moment, but were in hopes that it would gradually be brought to reliſh that form of

government, and at laſt be brought to adopt it without a ſtruggle."

I communicated this letter to the king, and burnt it as ſoon as he returned it to me, according to M. de Leſſart's expreſs deſire. His majeſty wrote to me, in anſwer, "that ſuch might be the ſcheme of the Jacobins: but all that he could do was to endeavour to evade their machinations, by remaining faithful to the conſtitution *."

The opinion manifeſted in the capital, upon the diſmiſſion of the three miniſters, was calculated to put an end to all inquietude reſpecting the refuſal of the ſanction. A ſilence was maintained upon the decree againſt the prieſts, but two petitions were addreſſed to the king and the aſſembly, for the revocation of that for the camp of 20,000 men. This decree had greatly alarmed the citizens, and was conſidered by

* At this time the leaders of the Gironde party had great influence with the Jacobins: but they abandoned that ſociety, on account of its violence, ſoon after. At the 10th of Auguſt 1792, they intended the execution of this plan only, but they were forced into a republic, long before the time when they judged it would be expedient, by Danton, Robeſpierre, Collot d'Herbois, &c.

the national guards as an inſult on their fidelity and courage. One of theſe petitions was ſigned by twenty thouſand, the other by eight thouſand citizens, great part of whom were connected with the national guards. The Jacobins were ſenſible how much this coalition might injure them, if they allowed it to become more formidable; they therefore haſtened to prevent its conſequences, by immediately bringing forward the plan alluded to in M. de Leſſart's letter, which was put in execution by the famous inſurrection of the 20th of June, in which the king owed his life to his preſence of mind and cool courage, the queen to the dignity of her manners and appearance, and madame Elizabeth to the general reſpect due to her character, and the admiration inſpired by the heroic manner in which ſhe expoſed her own life to ſave the queen's*.

* When the mob filled the apartments of the Thuilleries, on the 20th of June, ſome wretches inſulted madame Elizabeth, taking her for the queen. "Do not undeceive them," ſaid the generous princeſs to her attendants; "it will prevent them from attacking the queen."

The

The crimes of that horrible day are ſo well known, that it is unneceſſary to repeat them here. Hardly had the populace gone out of the palace, when thoſe, even of the loweſt claſs, who had taken no part in the inſurrection, broke out into invectives againſt the authors of it, and admired the conduct, courage, and moderation of the king and the royal family. A proclamation, extremely well written, was next day publiſhed. It was drawn up by M. Terrier de Monciel, who had juſt been named miniſter of the home department, and it produced a very good effect, not only in Paris, but in all the different departments, who ſent addreſſes to the king; and the aſſembly demanding that the authors of the inſurrection might be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. It was in the Jacobin club they were to be found. The information received by the department of Paris left no doubt on that point. It evidently appeared that Petion the mayor, and Manuel *procureur de la commune*, both Jacobins, might eaſily have prevented or diſ-

ſipated this inſurrection: but it was pretty univerſally believed that they had favoured it; and the whole of their conduct was judged ſo reprehenſible, that in ſpite of their great popularity the department ſuſpended them from their functions. This deciſion produced a great effect in the capital. The majority of citizens approved of it; the royaliſts thought it too moderate; the Jacobins were enraged, and breathed vengeance. According to the conſtitution, the decrees of the department could not be executed until they were confirmed by the king, and afterwards they were to be ſubmitted to the legiſlative body, who had authority to repeal or confirm them, whatever had been the king's deciſion. This decree, ſuſpending the mayor, was of courſe preſented to the king, who refuſed to take any cognizance of it, giving for his motive, that as it regarded himſelf perſonally, he, as well as his council, might be ſuſpected of partiality, and therefore he choſe to refer the decree to the preſident of the aſſembly; at the ſame time

time informing him of his reaſons for not pronouncing upon it, and declaring that he relied with confidence on the wiſdom of the aſſembly. The Jacobins, too artful to let ſlip ſuch an opportunity of mortifying the king, and being now more indifferent with regard to the general indignation which they had in a great meaſure appeaſed, prevailed on the aſſembly to declare that this conduct of his majeſty was unconſtitutional, becauſe the conſtitution had not pointed out any one caſe in which the decrees of the departments ſhould not be decided upon by the king, before they ſhould be ſubmitted to the national aſſembly. The decree, therefore, was carried to the king, who being thus forced to decide, immediately confirmed it: but two days after, this judgment was annulled by the aſſembly, who repealed the decree of the department, reinſtated Petion in his office, and thus re-eſtabliſhed with triumph the power of the Jacobins, to the great ſcandal of many who, though indignant, remained paſſive for want of leaders.

The ſituation of the king and queen became daily more difficult and perilous: the execution of the plan mentioned in M. de Leſſart's letter, was now purſued with equal ſucceſs and activity.

The king could no longer hope to ſecure his ſafety by means of force; for, beſides that he was by character averſe to ſuch meaſures, he was deprived of every reſource of that nature by the diſbanding of his guards, the union of the Swiſs to the troops of the line, and by the emigration of the nobility. All that now remained for him, was to fly from the capital; but the conſequences, ever to be deplored, of the journey to Varennes, and the many mortifications which attended that event, connected every enterpriſe of that kind with reflections ſo bitter, that nothing could have induced him to liſten to any plan of eſcape, but the moſt poſitive aſſurances that the lives of his family were in danger, and that flight alone could ſecure them from the poniards of aſſaſſins. I ſay, the lives of his family, not his own; for ever ſince the

day on which he was ſtopped at Varennes, the unhappy prince had been deeply impreſſed with the idea, that he would be aſſaſſinated; that all attempts to elude his deſtiny, would have no effect, but that of increaſing the danger of his family and friends. Under this melancholy impreſſion, he waited for death with a reſignation ſo calmly heroic, that it might have been miſtaken for indifference about life.

He frequently read the hiſtory of Charles the Firſt of England: his chief attention was to endeavour in every act to avoid whatever might ſerve as a pretext for bringing him to a legal trial.

The ſacrifice of his life ſeemed to coſt him nothing. The honour of the nation was the ſole object of his thought. The idea of being publicly murdered, in the name of the people, ſhocked him greatly. He wiſhed rather to die by the hands of an aſſaſſin, that his murder might be conſidered as the crime of a few individuals, and not a national act.

In

In a converſation with this unhappy prince on the 21ſt of June, I diſcovered that his mind was deeply impreſſed with the moſt dreadful forebodings.

To my congratulations on his having eſcaped the dangers of the preceding day, his majeſty anſwered:

"My uneaſineſs was entirely on account of the queen and my ſiſter; for myſelf I had no ſolicitude."

"But it ſeems to me," ſaid I, "that it was chiefly againſt your majeſty that the inſurrection was directed."

"I know it very well," anſwered he; "I ſaw that their intention was to aſſaſſinate me; and I can't conceive why they did not do it: but I ſhall not eſcape them another day; ſo that I am not the more fortunate. It is much the ſame whether I am murdered two months ſooner or later.

"My God!" cried I, "does your majeſty then really believe that you will be aſſaſſinated?"

"I am convinced of it," replied he, "I have long expected it; and I have made

up

up my mind to it. Do you think I fear death?"

"No, certainly; but I wiſh to ſee your majeſty leſs convinced that you are near it, and more diſpoſed to adopt the vigorous meaſures from which alone you can expect ſafety."

"There may be a poſſibility of my eſcaping; but ſtill there are many chances againſt it; and I am not lucky. I might riſk another attempt if I were alone. Oh! if my wife and children were not with me, it would ſoon appear that I am not ſo weak as is imagined; but what would become of them if the meaſures you allude to ſhould fail?"

"But if your majeſty ſhould be aſſaſſinated, do you think that your family would be in greater ſafety?"

"Yes, I think they would. I hope ſo, at leaſt; and, if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, I could not be reproached with being the cauſe. But what do you think I can do?"

"I think," anſwered I, "that your majeſty could now get out of Paris with leſs difficulty

difficulty than ever; becauſe the events of yeſterday have made it too clear, that your life is not in ſafety in the capital."

"Oh! I will not attempt to eſcape a ſecond time; I ſuffered too much on the laſt occaſion."

"I am of your majeſty's opinion," replied I, "that you ought not to think of eſcaping ſecretly at preſent; but the general indignation which is raiſed by the events of yeſterday, offer, in my mind, a very favourable opportunity for your leaving Paris openly, and without oppoſition; not only with the conſent of the great majority of the citizens, but even with their approbation. I beg that your majeſty will give me leave to take this meaſure into conſideration, and afterwards to ſubmit my ideas to you reſpecting the mode of executing it."

"You may do ſo; but you will find it more difficult than you imagine."

One of the incidents of the 20th of June, which had given moſt vexation to the king's friends, was, that the red cap had remained

mained on his head for nearly three hours. I took the liberty to beg of his majeſty to explain a circumſtance ſeemingly ſo inconſiſtent with the cool intrepidity remarkable in his conduct on that day. His anſwer was as follows:

"When the cry of *vive la nation* was redoubled with vehemence, and evidently addreſſed to me, I loudly ſaid, that the nation had not a better friend than myſelf. Upon which a fellow, of a ſanguinary aſpect, with a pike in his hand, and evidently drunk, forced his way cloſe to me through the crowd, and ſaid rudely enough, 'If you are telling the truth, prove it by putting on the *bonnet rouge*.'

"I conſent," anſwered I, "and directly the fellow, with one of his companions, advanced, and placed the cap on the top of my hair; for it was too ſmall for my head. I imagined, I don't know why, that their intention was merely to place the cap, and to withdraw it directly; I thought no more about it; indeed, I was too much engroſſed by the ſcenes around me, to think

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of the cap; and, after I had returned to my own apartment, when one of my attendants mentioned it, I was aſtoniſhed to find it on my head; indeed, I am convinced I might have taken it off in the hall without any danger; but, I am alſo convinced, that if I had oppoſed its being placed on my head, the man in liquor would have plunged his pike into my bowels."

M. le Marechal de Mouchy, and M. d'Hervilly, who were preſent, and ſaw all that paſſed, have both related the ſame circumſtances in the ſame manner; from which it appears, that if the king could not prevent the inſult of the red cap being placed on his head, he cannot be accuſed of allowing it to remain there ſo long as it did through fear of taking it off.

On the 23d of June I ſent his majeſty a plan, of which I have preſerved the ſubſequent note:

"Article Firſt. To re-eſtabliſh the conſtitutional guard, and inform the aſſembly of it by a letter to the preſident, in which the king ſhould,

ſhould, at the ſame time, give notice, that it was his intention to exclude all the officers and ſoldiers againſt whom any ſerious accuſation has been proved, deſiring the aſſembly to ſend him a liſt of their names.

"Second. To give orders, that the three thouſand Swiſs, which were at Courbevoye, ſhall ſet off in detachments, conſiſting of five hundred men, and be placed in the principal villages upon the road to Fontainbleau, to attend the king's paſſage.

"Third. As ſoon as the guard is reeſtabliſhed, which can be done in leſs than three days, as the officers and ſoldiers are all at Paris, a letter ſhould be written to the national aſſembly, importing, that the king's health, and that of the royal family, requiring the country air, his majeſty intended to paſs a few days at Fontainbleau; and that he would take neceſſary meaſures for preventing this journey from obſtructing the public buſineſs. That a letter to the ſame effect ſhould be written to the municipality, and both ſent at the moment when their majeſties were ſtepping into

into the carriage; ſo that their intention might not be known till they had paſſed the barriers. No perſon ſhould be in their confidence before the inſtant in which they ſet off: that they ſhould go in the ſame carriage in which they uſually take their airing; and every preparation avoided which could poſſibly raiſe ſuſpicion of a project to eſcape.

"Fourth. There ſhould be only one carriage, and the ſame number of guards which uſually accompany the royal family: that orders ſhould be given for three hundred guards on horſeback, to meet the king, two miles from Paris, on the road to Fontainbleau, in order to overawe all who ſhould ſhew any diſpoſition to hinder his majeſty from continuing his journey: the reſt of the conſtitutional guards ſhould be diſtributed at the various poſts where the detachments of the Swiſs guards had, according to the ſecond article, been previouſly placed.

"Fifth. That an hour after the departure of the royal family, M. de la Porte,

or

or any other perſon in the king's confidence, ſhould inform thoſe domeſtics which the king or queen chooſe to attend them; to ſet out ſeparately, and at convenient intervals, leſt too great a number of carriages appearing at the ſame time ſhould excite the attention and inquietude of the people."

The king wrote, in anſwer, on the margin of my plan:

"A departure ſo precipitate without preparations, and before informing the aſſembly, has too much the appearance of a flight. If I ſhould not ſet off till the aſſembly have received my letter, and deliberated upon it, they would paſs to the order of the day; and, in that interval, an inſurrection would be raiſed to ſtop me. Beſides it will be almoſt impoſſible to execute your plan without taking ſeveral perſons into our confidence. The re-eſtabliſhment of my guard would alſo, in all appearance, meet with great oppoſition."

Upon theſe obſervations, I ſubmitted to the king another plan, or rather the form of another letter to the aſſembly; by which

he ſhould place them between the alternatives of approving of his departure by a decree, or of rendering themſelves reſponſible for every attempt which might be made againſt his perſon.

This new letter was conceived in the following terms:

"M. Preſident,

"The health of my family, as well as my own, require that we leave Paris. I propoſe going to Fontainbleau, and ſhall take the neceſſary meaſures to prevent the journey from retarding public buſineſs. Nevertheleſs, if the aſſembly is of opinion that I ought not, in the preſent emergency, to go far from Paris, I can defer my departure for a few days.

"I beg you will tranſmit to me the opinion of the aſſembly on this ſubject. I deſire alſo, that you may inform them, that I am occupied with the new formation of my conſtitutional guard.

"I deſire that the aſſembly may ſend me the names of the officers or ſoldiers againſt whom there exiſts any ſerious accuſation,

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ſupported by proof, that they may be left out of the new eſtabliſhment."

At the ſame time that I ſent this new plan, I remarked to his majeſty, that the aſſembly could not avoid deliberating upon his letter; and, that if they approved of his majeſty's departure, he had no obſtacle to apprehend; but if, on the contrary, they ſhould declare that his preſence was neceſſary at Paris, they could not diſpenſe with uſing every poſſible precaution for the ſecurity of his perſon, that they might not give juſt ground for being accuſed of having detained the king for no other reaſon than in order to have him aſſaſſinated.

The king rejected this ſecond plan, by the following marginal note:

"It is undoubtedly neceſſary to provide for our ſafety; but even that muſt be done with dignity. I find none in the new plan you propoſe *."

* "Il faut ſans doute s'occuper de la ſureté; mais ſans oublier la dignité; et je n'en trouve pas dans le nouveau parti que vous propoſez."

This anſwer was in a ſtyle that I never ſhould have expected from the king: I ſuſpected its being dictated by the queen; and was confirmed in my opinion next day on receiving a letter from her, conceived in nearly the ſame terms.

That unfortunate princeſs, although overwhelmed with misfortunes, allowed herſelf to be deluded by the hopes, that the king's affairs would, of themſelves, take a favourable turn: ſhe entertained that idea to the laſt. To this ſecurity, or fatal want of foreſight, we muſt attribute her repugnance to the only meaſures that now remained to ſave the king and herſelf from the impending danger.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Repreſentations made to the king upon the neceſſity of adopting a plan, and adhering to it.—The king approves of the propoſal of concerting with M. Montmorin and M. Malouet, reſpecting his ſituation.—His majeſty's ſentiments of M. Malouet.—Plan for gaining the tribunes of the aſſembly.—Rejected by the king, but executed without his knowledge.—He diſcovers this, and orders its ſuſpenſion.—General plan of conduct propoſed to his majeſty.—M. de la Fayette.

I WAS far from thinking that the faint remains of royal dignity could be wounded by the plan I propoſed to the king, and I attributed his anſwer leſs to any idea of his own of that nature, than to the uſual indeciſion of his character, and to the influence of the queen. To this may be added,

the illuſion in which he was kept by thoſe around him, reſpecting the attachment of the Pariſians to his perſon, and the loyalty of the national guards, both which were repreſented as much greater than they were in reality. Indeed I had long been averſe from expoſing the dangers that ſurrounded him to their full extent, from a fear of diſcouraging him too much. I now thought it incumbent on me, however, to repreſent, in a letter, that his ſituation had become ſo critical, that I durſt no longer take on me to adviſe him, without the aſſiſtance of other counſellors, in whoſe prudence and attachment he placed confidence; that it appeared abſolutely neceſſary that ſome plan of conduct ſhould be formed, adapted to the preſent circumſtances, and ſtrictly adhered to, which would prevent his being left to the mercy of events, without the power of reſiſtance, or any preparation to meet them; that if his majeſty had already adopted any plan, and would condeſcend to communicate it to me, I would lay it before M. Montmorin and M. Malouet; that

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after deliberating on it with them, I would tranſmit the reſult to his majeſty, who would reject or adopt it as his wiſdom directed. I informed the king, at the ſame time, that Buob, the juſtice of the peace, was clearly of opinion that nothing was more urgent than to ſecure a majority in the galleries of the aſſembly, by placing a ſufficient number of hired people to overbalance the emiſſaries ſent there by the Jacobins.

The king wrote the following notes in the margin of my letter:

1ſt. "I feel the neceſſity of a plan, although it appears to me impoſſible to avoid deviating ſometimes from any plan whatever. Send me one."

2dly. "The ſcheme of gaining the tribunes would be a good one, if it were practicable: but we muſt renounce it. During the firſt aſſembly, the ſame attempt coſt the civil liſt more than three millions, and the tribunes were conſtantly againſt me notwithſtanding."

3dly. "I approve of your taking the advice of Meſſrs. Montmorin and Malouet,

reſpecting your plan, and every other important matter you may judge proper to propoſe to me."

The king eſteemed M. Malouet, and relied on his attachment. He had filled with honour the places of intendant of the colonies and of the marine, and was equally diſtinguiſhed in the aſſembly for his underſtanding, courage, and probity. His opinions, though generally very juſt, were ſeldom adopted, becauſe he belonged to no party; and of courſe all parties were uſually againſt him. The *Côté Droit* could not forgive him, becauſe he wiſhed to have a repreſentative government; while he enraged the *Côté Gauche* by his unalterable zeal in ſupporting royalty.

I do not ſay that at the firſt period of the revolution, when people's minds were heated by new ſyſtems, that M. Malouet conſtantly oppoſed the ideas ſo univerſally adopted in favour of liberty, a new conſtitution, and of a conſiderable degree of reformation; he had perhaps too high a notion of the advantages of giving France a new conſtitution,

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and a greater degree of freedom. Perhaps he imputed to the government certain acts of deſpotiſm, which entirely proceeded from the imperious character of certain miniſters. He may, in common with the beſt men, have fallen into miſtakes: but it muſt be acknowledged that his intentions were always pure; and that he was the firſt to foreſee and announce the horrible conſequences to be dreaded from the revolution; that none defended, with more intrepidity, the rights and prerogatives of the king, to whom he gave proofs of zeal and attachment to the very laſt. In ſhort, he is the only one who, after the conſtitution was accepted, had the courage to aſcend the tribune, and make a formal proteſt againſt it.

M. de la Porte, to whom I communicated the ſcheme of gaining the tribunes, aſſured me that the king's ſtatement was pretty exact; for that in the ſpace of eight or nine months more than 2,500,000 livres had been expended for that object, but without attaining it. In fact, the perſons entruſted

with that buſineſs were ſuſpected of having turned the greateſt part of the money to their own profit; and as it was impoſſible to guard againſt impoſition in an affair of that nature, the king had determined to renounce ſuch ſchemes altogether.

Although, of the two chief undertakers for gaining the tribunes, one made a purchaſe, at that time, of land to the value of 1,200,000, and the other, of land to the value of 700,000 livres, I will not affirm that thoſe purchaſes were made with the money of the civil liſt: but I do aſſert, that it is not in their power to clear themſelves of that ſuſpicion, but by acknowledging and proving that they were guilty of a degree of negligence almoſt as culpable.

During my own adminiſtration, I knew, by experience, that the applauſe of the tribunes could be ſecured at no great expence. It was on the day on which I was to give my final anſwer, before the aſſembly, to the denunciations which had been made againſt me. I had been informed, two days before, that the ſecret

committee of Jacobins had agreed to reinforce the number of their emiſſaries in the tribunes, on purpoſe to hiſs me. This information was communicated by one of the *vainqueurs de la Baſtille*, as they were called. I had rendered a great ſervice to this man before the revolution, and he was entirely devoted to me ever after. He had great influence in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and engaged to find, amongſt the workmen of that quarter, two hundred robuſt hardy fellows who might be depended upon, and to bring them to the aſſembly, on the day appointed, before the doors were opened, that they might ſecure places in the galleries. They were directed to hiſs or applaud according to certain ſignals from their leaders. This manœuvre had all the ſucceſs I could deſire. The diſcourſe I pronounced was frequently interrupted by the applauſe of the tribunes, which continued for a long time after I had done ſpeaking. The Jacobins were confounded, and could not comprehend the meaning of it. I was ſtill in the aſſembly with the other miniſters, who had all paid

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me the compliment of accompanying me on that occaſion; when the Abbé Fauchet deſired permiſſion to ſpeak upon a matter which he declared was of great importance.

"A letter has this inſtant been delivered to me," ſaid he, "informing me, that a great portion of the citizens have been *hired* to applaud the miniſter of marine."

But the abbé's eſtabliſhed reputation for impudence and falſehood made his accuſation appear ridiculous, eſpecially as it was not unuſual for the ſpeeches which I made in the aſſembly to be applauded by the people in the galleries; for I had been always careful to ſeaſon them with certain words and phraſes which, without regarding their import, the people never failed to applaud, when they were pronounced with ſufficient emphaſis.

Hardly had the Abbé Fauchet finiſhed his ſpeech, than it was ſtifled by a general murmur of the aſſembly, and the hiſſes of the tribunes, who had received a ſignal for that purpoſe.

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This victory over the Jacobins coſt me nothing, becauſe my champions, from attachment to their chief, would receive nothing from him but a glaſs of brandy.

I gave the king an account of this, in anſwer to his majeſty's laſt notes; and I ſent him a plan that Buob had remitted to me, for gaining the tribunes, by which the expence would only have amounted to 800 livres a day. It was as follows:

To fill the two firſt rows of the galleries with 262 perſons, whoſe pay was to be as follows:

1ſt. For a chief, who alone was in the ſecret, 50 livres a day.

2dly. An under-chief, choſen by the firſt, 25 livres a day.

3dly. Ten adjutants, at 10 livres a day, to be choſen by the chief, but having no acquaintance with each other. Each of theſe were ordered to hire twenty-five men, and to bring them every day to the aſſembly.

4thly. Two hundred and fifty men, at 50 ſols a day.

The

The chief was to be placed in the middle of the front of one gallery, and the under-chief to take his place in the ſame part of the other; the chiefs only to be known to the five adjutants who were placed in each gallery. The under-chief was to receive orders by a ſignal from his ſuperior, which could be underſtood by him only; who, by a ſecond ſignal, conveyed the order to the adjutants, who, on their part, by a ſignal, communicated it to the twenty-five men each adjutant had under him. This manœuvre was always performed in both galleries at the ſame inſtant. The ten adjutants, and all under them, were to be engaged in the name of Petion, and on pretence of ſupporting the conſtitution againſt ariſtocrates and republicans. A gentleman, in the king's confidence, was to communicate with an officer of the diſbanded guards, devoted to his majeſty, furniſhing him, at the ſame time, with money and inſtructions for the conduct of the tribunes. This officer was to deliver the ſame to a man in whom he had confidence, who was the engager of the chief,

chief, who, on receiving the money and inſtructions, was to direct the whole as above mentioned.

By means of thoſe precautions, the entire diſcovery of the plan was next to impoſſible; becauſe, although one of the agents had revealed all he knew, yet, by making another agent diſappear, the chain of diſcovery would have been entirely broken.

In order to guard againſt impoſition as much as poſſible, Buob propoſed to ſend five men every day to each tribune, as obſervers of what paſſed, with orders to endeavour to calculate nearly the number of thoſe who applauded or who hiſſed, and bring him an account of it.

The king ſent back the whole of this plan to me, without approving it: but when I informed Buob, who was, of all the men I ever knew, the moſt headſtrong and unmanageable, he ſaid, with paſſion,

"The king may think of this plan what he pleaſes, but I am certain that nothing but this, or a ſcheme of the ſame nature, can

can ſave him and his family. I will therefore take it on me to ſave them at every riſk; and if I ſhould never be paid by the civil liſt, I will do without it."

Accordingly he made the trial for a week, and the conſequence was as follows: The firſt and ſecond day the chiefs were contented to prevent both hiſſing and applauding. The ſignals they gave for preſerving ſilence were always under the pretence of wiſhing to hear the ſpeakers more diſtinctly. This alone was an eſſential point gained. The third day they began to applaud the conſtitutional orators with moderation, and continued to prevent their opponents from being applauded. On the fourth day they obſerved the ſame plan; only the applauſe of the conſtitutional ſpeeches was more animated. The aſſembly were at a loſs to comprehend the meaning of all this. The members looked frequently with aſtoniſhment to the tribunes: but ſeeing them filled with people of the uſual appearance, they imputed the applauſe to ſome miſtake, and took no farther notice. The fifth day the

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ſame applauſes were redoubled, and they began to hiſs faintly anti-conſtitutional motions and opinions. The aſſembly was a little diſconcerted: but one of the adjutants, being queſtioned by a deputy, anſwered, that he was for the conſtitution and for Petion. They were confirmed in the notion of the audience being under a miſtake. The ſixth day, the hiſſes and applauſes being continued in the ſame ſtyle, but with much greater violence, the aſſembly took offence. A motion was made againſt the tribunes, which they repelled with clamour, abuſive language, and threats. Some of the people in pay carried their audacity ſo far as to raiſe their ſticks, in a menacing manner, againſt the deputies neareſt them, exclaiming, that the aſſembly was a band of villains who deſerved to be deſtroyed.

The preſident, being, perhaps, afraid that the whole of the audience might adopt the ſame opinion, broke up the aſſembly.

In going out of the hall, ſeveral of the deputies, addreſſing ſome of the moſt active agents, were aſſured that they had been engaged in the name of Petion. Thoſe deputies immediately carried their complaint to him, convinced that he had been deceived; that he would diſapprove the conduct of his agents, and diſmiſs them.

Petion, who had not before heard what paſſed in the aſſembly, ſwore, with great truth, that he had no hand in the matter; and that he had not, for a long time, employed any perſon in the tribunes; adding, that it muſt be ſome manœuvre of his enemies, and that he would neglect no means of diſcovering the authors. Accordingly I received accounts that his emiſſaries had been in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and had queſtioned a number of workmen, without making any diſcovery.

The king took notice of the remarkable change which had taken place in the tribunes, and ſoon gueſſed the cauſe. He wrote to me, that he ſaw they had been gained, but that the expedient had been carried

carried too far; that it ſhould be reſerved for a more urgent occaſion; and that he would let me know when he wiſhed ſuch means ſhould be employed; meanwhile, that I muſt give Buob poſitive orders to diſband his troops.

I have often thought that it would have been wiſer to have adhered to the plan of merely ſilencing the tribunes, as it was by means of their clamour and applauſe that the aſſembly paſſed the moſt violent decrees: but Buob was anxious, above every thing, to convince the king, that by paying the tribunes, it would be poſſible to go any lengths againſt the Jacobins. If this object could have been attained at this deſperate moment, when the force of the government was greatly weakened, and when there remained only one crime more to be committed, in order to overſet the monarchy, it is probable that had Buob's plan been adopted during the firſt aſſembly, before the intemperate heat of the Jacobins had miſled, and even enſlaved, the public

mind, the government might have been maintained.

After ſeveral conferences with Meſſrs. Montmorin and Malouet, reſpecting the plan which the king had demanded of us, we propoſed to him what follows:

"1ſt. To prepare, without loſs of time, the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitutional guard.

"2dly. To defer, as long as poſſible, the execution of the decree ſuppreſſing the Swiſs guard, on purpoſe to unite them with the troops of the line.

"3dly. To let no opportunity eſcape of publiſhing proclamations, the beſt calculated for enlightening the people reſpecting the manœuvres and ſnares of the Jacobins, and for keeping the Pariſians in the favourable diſpoſition produced by the inſurrection of the 20th of June; alſo to write letters, with the ſame view, to the aſſembly, as often as any plauſible pretext ſhould occur.

"4thly. To endeavour to find the means of withdrawing from Paris in the ſafeſt way poſſible.

"5thly.

"5thly. Not to divide his confidence; that is to ſay, not to conſult ſeparately people of different notions and principles, who, having no communication with each other, would only embarraſs him, or lead him into contradictory meaſures, which would end in ruin."

The king did not return the above plan for two days after receiving it. The ſubſequent anſwer was written in the margin when it came to me.

"I cannot but approve of your plan, and have only to object to the difficulty I foreſee in its execution. Mention circumſtantially in your next how the firſt and fourth articles are to be accompliſhed."

I had already reflected on thoſe means which we had diſcuſſed in our committee; but it was unneceſſary to inform the king of them until we knew whether or not our plan would be agreeable to him.

The part which M. de la Fayette acted at the commencement of the revolution, was too remarkable for permitting his conduct at a later period to be paſſed over in

ſilence. This conſtitutional general, whoſe head was not a little turned by the American revolution, and by extravagant ſentiments of liberty, had unqueſtionably been one of the principal inſtigators of the French revolution; of which he expected to become the Waſhington. His friends thought him in reality capable of being ſo; but he has ſince ſufficiently proved, that whatever reſemblance there might be in their dreſs or appearance, there was a prodigious difference in their abilities.

But juſtice and truth compel me to acknowledge, that from the end of March 1792, M. de la Fayette's eyes ſeemed to have become open to his paſt errors: (his preſent ſituation, and the misfortunes of his family forbid any harſher expreſſion:) the dreadful progreſs of the revolution alarmed him; and he ſeemed ſincerely reſolved to try every means to ſave the king.

Although he did not poſſeſs all the firmneſs requiſite for ſuch an attempt, perhaps he would have ſucceeded, had it not been for the extreme reluctance of their majeſties

to every vigorous meaſure, and their unwillingneſs to owe ſuch an important ſervice to a man whom they had ſo long conſidered as their enemy.

One day, about the beginning of June, I met with M. de Lally Tolendal, recently arrived from England, at M. de Montmorin's: he aſked me to go with him into the garden, where he ſpoke to me as follows:

"Sir, though I am no longer a French but a Britiſh ſubject, I will retain to my lateſt breath, the warmeſt attachment to the perſon, reſpect for the virtues, and gratitude for the favours of Lewis XVI.

"If ever the day ſhould arrive in which I ſhall be inſtrumental to his ſafety, I will eſteem it the happieſt of my life. I am here for that purpoſe only, and we are not totally devoid of hope. I ſay *we*, becauſe I am united with M. de Clermont Tonnerre, and other friends, devoted entirely to the king, to royalty, and to liberty. A plan for his complete reſtoration on theſe

grounds, has been the reſult of all our deliberations. We have communicated our plan to M. Malouet. He has adviſed me to make you acquainted with it, as you poſſeſs the king's confidence; and I have called you aſide for that purpoſe."

After this introduction, M. de Lally aſſured me that the baſis of the plan formed by himſelf and his aſſociates, was to ſet the king at full liberty; to cruſh the Jacobins; to render his majeſty the mediator between France and Europe, between the French and the French; then to proceed to reform the conſtitution itſelf; to bound the popular power by the means of the people themſelves; and to enſure to Lewis XVI. the conſolation which his heart ſo much panted after, that of uniting, like Trajan, the liberty of the people with the prerogative of the prince.

"All this is very fine indeed," ſaid I; "but for the execution of the firſt ſtep, the king's deliverance, what means have you?"

"La

"La Fayette, with his national guards," replied he, "or with his army, or with both."

"La Fayette! La Fayette!" cried I; "and is it poſſible you can depend on ſuch a man after all we have ſeen of his conduct?"

"The queſtion no longer is what M. de la Fayette did three years ago," ſaid he, "but what he can and is willing to do now. Is it not poſſible for the ſame man to be inflamed with a love of liberty, ſo as to be led aſtray, and afterwards ardently endeavour to cruſh that unbounded and criminal licence, which he at length perceives to be dangerous to true freedom? At this moment La Fayette is purſuing his romance. He has juſt now begun to be a believer in the rights of royalty, becauſe he conceives it to be now adopted, ſettled, and conſolidated by the choice and the oaths of the people. But if royalty is as ſacred to him by its recent, as it is to us by its ancient titles; if he remains as ſtrictly bound to the mo-

narchy, becauſe it is in the conſtitution, as we are, becauſe it is in our hearts and our reaſon, of what importance is this difference to us, ſince he proceeds with us to the ſame end? It is his actions, not his motives, we ſtand in need of."

Though by no means convinced by this reaſoning, I could not refuſe to tranſmit it to the king, with a long memorial which M. Malouet gave me on the part of M. de Lally.

Some days after, M. de la Fayette wrote from the army his famous letter of the 16th of June, addreſſed to the aſſembly againſt the Jacobins, and demanding the ſuppreſſion of their meetings. This letter was greatly applauded by the majority of the aſſembly and the tribunes; but it irritated the Jacobins to ſuch a degree, that to prove that they were not intimidated by his attack, they excited the inſurrection of the 20th of June. The horrible circumſtances of that day filled the army with indignation, and encouraged M. de la Fayette

to

to appear at the bar of the aſſembly on the 28th of the ſame month. In the name of all the officers and ſoldiers of his army, he demanded the puniſhment of the authors and accomplices of the crimes and exceſſes committed on the 20th.

When the king heard, on the morning of the 28th, that M. de la Fayette was arrived from the army, and of the demand he was to make at the bar of the aſſembly, his expectations were very high reſpecting the ſucceſs of that meaſure: but they were not of long duration; for, although the diſcourſe, pronounced by the general, was as ſtrong as the circumſtances exacted, and was heard with applauſe by the audience; and although he was invited to the honours of the *ſeance*; yet ſcarcely had he taken his ſeat, when his conduct was violently attacked by ſeveral deputies, particularly by Vergniaud and Guadet.

They reproached him for having quitted his poſt without leave, and for attempting to intimidate the aſſembly in the name of the

the army; for both of which, they aſſerted, he well deſerved to have a decree of accuſation pronounced againſt him. During thoſe declamations, which were alſo applauded by the tribunes, M. de la Fayette remained ſilent and paſſive; and thus permitted all the favourable effect produced by the bold ſtep he had taken to be ſo completely annihilated, that he thought the beſt thing he could do, was to make his eſcape from Paris that very night, and to join the army.

M. de la Fayette's appearance at the bar would, in all probability, have had a very different iſſue, if, previous to his arrival, his friends at Paris had prepared thoſe of the national guards, who were attached to him, for his coming; if they had made him be accompanied to the aſſembly by a part of thoſe guards, and had filled the tribunes with the reſt; and if, being thus ſupported, M. de la Fayette, at the very firſt ſentence of Guadet's ſpeech, had called him to order, and addreſſed the preſident

preſident in ſome ſuch terms as the following:

"That member, ſir, forgets that I ſpeak here in the name of an army, faithful to the conſtitution, and ready to ſhed their blood in fighting againſt its domeſtic, as well as its foreign enemies; and that, on the petition of this army, of which I am the bearer, it is the inſtant buſineſs of the aſſembly to deliberate; more eſpecially as I was obliged by my ſoldiers, when I left them, to promiſe to diſpatch a courier to inform them of the deciſion of the aſſembly at the end of this very *ſeance*; and I muſt not diſſemble, that if your deciſion is not conformable to the conſtitutional demand which I have now expreſſed in their name, I cannot anſwer for the conſequences."

M. de la Fayette, however, ſeems not to have been quite diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his embaſſy; for, on the 10th of July, M. de Lally came again to me, with an air of triumph; and putting a paper into my hands, he ſaid, "Read what

what I am authoriſed to tranſmit to the king, and remain afterwards incredulous if you can." It was a long letter written by M. de la Fayette from his army; in which he drew a plan (ready, as he ſaid, for execution) to open the way to the king through his enemies, and to eſtabliſh him in ſafety either at Compieigne, or in the north part of France, ſurrounded by his conſtitutional guards, and by his faithful army. All this was to be done conſtitutionally.

I tranſmitted this letter to the king, who, notwithſtanding that his diſtruſt of M. de la Fayette was conſiderably abated, could never believe that he had it in his power to accompliſh the reſtoration of the monarchy, like another Monk; and, beſides, he deemed the plan now propoſed but feebly calculated for that purpoſe. His majeſty, therefore, ſent me an obliging, but a negative anſwer, to deliver to M. de Lally, to be by him tranſmitted to M. de la Fayette. It was in theſe words:

"Let

"Let him know that I am ſenſible of his attachment in propoſing to incur ſo much danger; but it would be imprudent to put ſo many ſprings in motion at once. The beſt way he can ſerve me is to continue to make himſelf a terror to the factious, by ably performing his duty as a general."

CHAP. XXIX.

A deſign formed by Santerre of murdering the queen.—Prevented.—One of my letters to the queen taken from my table by a journaliſt.—The arrival of the Marſeillois at Paris.—Meaſures propoſed to the king on that occaſion.—A club eſtabliſhed under the name of National Club.—Lieutaut's troop.—Mayor of Etampes.

NOTWITHSTANDING his majeſty's approbation of the plan preſented to him from Meſſrs. de Montmorin, Malouet, and myſelf, there was no certainty of its full execution; becauſe the king and queen never could retain a full confidence in any man or ſet of men, they were apt to give a certain weight to the opinion of others, however oppoſite. The conſequence was, that in the different projects of letters and proclamations, as well as in the meaſures we propoſed, the king adopted ſome part, but

but added others, which often deſtroyed the effect of the whole.

Thus, in ſpite of all our efforts, new errors daily augmented the dangers which threatened the king and monarchy. We diſregarded thoſe which were perſonal, however imminent: our thoughts and wiſhes were wholly engroſſed by the deſire of ſaving that auguſt and unfortunate family, who were too much abandoned; and it required all the zeal and attachment which animated us, not to be diſcouraged by the continual obſtacles which the king's indeciſion oppoſed to the ſucceſs of our meaſures.

Towards the end of June, or in the beginning of July, a man whom I did not know, whoſe name was Grammont Carton, and, by his own account, an officer in the *Etat Major* of the army, came to my houſe betwixt eight and nine o'clock at night; and told me, that he had a ſecret of the utmoſt importance to communicate, and which concerned the life of the queen; but, as I was not acquainted with him, he

deſired, that, previous to his explaining himſelf, I ſhould conſult her majeſty, to whom, he ſaid, he had been perſonally known ever ſince the 6th of October 1789. I wrote next day to the queen, informing her of this converſation; but ſuppreſſing what related to herſelf, and deſiring to know whether this Grammont Carton was a perſon to whom I might liſten with confidence; and, to ſave her trouble, I begged her majeſty would return my letter, with a ſimple affirmative, or negative, for anſwer.

The ſame day, about twelve o'clock, my letter was returned, with the following verbal anſwer from the queen:

"Yes, but with caution."

Having laid my letter, which had been thus returned, upon the table, I continued to converſe for half an hour with the perſon who had brought it; after which, a journaliſt of my acquaintance entered my apartment. Before he ſeated himſelf, he threw down ſome papers he had in his hand upon my bureau, and placed his hat above them; then he explained

the occaſion of his viſit, which was to beg I would lend him a thouſand livres to enable him to print a new edition of his account of the inſurrection of the 20th of June. His ſtatement of that event, while it was perfectly exact, put the conduct of his majeſty in the moſt favourable point of view; and was, by that means, calculated to make a happy impreſſion on the minds of the people.

I was the more ſurpriſed at this demand, as, immediately after the publication of that paper, he had come and repreſented to me, that it was his intention to publiſh a ſecond edition, to diſtribute *gratis* all over the capital and the Fauxbourgs; but that he could not on account of the preſent diſtreſs of his circumſtances. On this repreſentation I gave him 300 livres, which was the ſum he required. However, on his repreſenting that his preſent demand was for a third edition, of which a thouſand copies were to be diſtributed through all the principal towns of the kingdom; and that he expected only the lend of the money,

which he would repay from the profits of the ſale; I agreed to his demand; and, having taken up his hat and papers, he retired. About half an hour after he was gone, I looked for my letter to the queen; and not finding it, concluded that I had burnt it, as had been my intention. About a fortnight after, one of my brothers came to me, with an air of conſternation, and told me, that my correſpondence with the queen was diſcovered; and that one of my letters to her majeſty had been found. As I was convinced that the queen burnt all my letters which ſhe did not ſend back to me, I had no doubt but that this was a trick in order to diſcover, by my uneaſineſs or my tranquillity, whether I really was in correſpondence with her majeſty or not; I therefore deſired my brother to be quite eaſy on the ſubject; and begged that he would try to find out from what quarter the calumny came.

He returned to me next day, and told me that one of his friends, whoſe intentions, with regard to me, could not be ſuſpected,

pected, had assured him, that his information was from one who had seen the letter; that it consisted of eight or ten lines, in my hand-writing. Still this did not alarm me. I supposed it a counterfeit letter, in which my hand-writing was imitated.

On the evening of the same day, the baron de Gillier came to me to obtain some information for madame Elizabeth. I spoke to him of the story which had gone abroad, of my correspondence with the queen; and I asked him if he had heard of it.

"What is more," said he, "I have read your letter to the queen."

"Read my letter to the queen? Impossible!"

"I repeat it," said he. "I read your letter to the queen. But make yourself easy, for I made it be burnt in my presence. In this letter you asked the queen if you might listen with confidence to a particular person, who said that he was known to her majesty, and had an important secret to communicate to you."

"But where was that letter?" ſaid I.

"In the hands of a journaliſt, who, the laſt time he came to ſee you, took it, by miſtake, from your table, among ſome papers of his own."

"You have aſſuredly rendered me a very great ſervice," ſaid I; "for ſome people took pains to aſſure me, that the perſon who was in poſſeſſion of that letter intended to make me purchaſe it at the price of a conſiderable ſum of money; which certainly was in his power, becauſe, although there was nothing criminal in the letter, yet at this period, the diſcovery of any correſpondence with the queen might have proved fatal to me."

The day on which I received the queen's anſwer, M. Grammont returned to me; and upon my telling him that I was now authoriſed by her majeſty to hear what he had to ſay, he aſſured me he was poſitively informed that Santerre had the project to have the queen aſſaſſinated; that a grenadier of his battalion had engaged to perpetrate the crime, for a conſiderable

ſum

ſum of money, a ſmall part of which he had already received; that he had confided the ſecret to a girl with whom he lived, and whom he would be enabled to marry, by means of the ſum he was promiſed. The girl, who was a waſherwoman, entruſted the ſecret to a female friend, who communicated it to her own lover, who happened to be the hair-dreſſer of M. Grammont Carton, to whom he communicated the ſecret, informing him, at the ſame time, that he knew the grenadier in queſtion, whoſe figure was ſufficiently remarkable, by a large cicatrice in his left cheek; and that the 14th of July, the day of the federation, was the time fixed upon for execution.

In ſpite of the ſuſpicious channels through which the intelligence came to me, it was of too ſerious a nature to be neglected. I gave information to M. de la Porte, being convinced that he would take every precaution the circumſtance required. At the ſame time I ordered the juſtice of peace Buob to place a dozen of ſpies about the

palace, to watch for the grenadier, of whoſe figure a deſcription was given, with orders, that as ſoon as they ſaw him, to give notice to the officer commanding the neareſt poſt of the guard; becauſe I was informed, by M. de la Porte, that all the commanders of guards had received orders to arreſt that fellow.

On the 14th of July, M. Grammont went himſelf to the chateau. The grenadier appeared at eight o'clock at night, dreſſed in a plain coat; and although he was perceived by the ſentinel of the *porte royale*, yet he had the addreſs to make his eſcape. He had the impudence, however, to return at eleven the ſame night, in his uniform, and was taken up at the bottom of the ſtair leading to the queen's apartments. He was at firſt remarked by having feathers in his cap of a colour different from thoſe worn by the battalion then on guard, and afterwards completely diſtinguiſhed by the cicatrice on his cheek. He was immediately conducted to the guard-room. On ſearching him, a cutlaſs was found

found concealed in the lining of his coat. The next morning, juſt as he was going to be brought before the judge of peace, he was carried off by a band of ruffians, who came to the gates of the chateau on purpoſe to reſcue him.

I was informed of this event by M. Grammont, whom I perſuaded to make a formal declaration of the above facts before M. Maingeot, judge of the peace in the ſection of the Thuilleries, and have the ſame verified by the teſtimony of the officers who had been on guard at the queen's apartment. A verbal proceſs of the whole was accordingly made.

This act of duty proved fatal to M. Maingeot. That reſpectable man was among the victims of the 10th of Auguſt. Santerre, who knew that he had drawn up the *proces verbal* reſpecting the grenadier, ſent a band of aſſaſſins to his houſe, who, having murdered him, ſeized his papers, and brought them in triumph to their worthy chief.

Two

Two days after the 10th, as Grammont himſelf has ſince informed me, Santerre made a deſcription of his face and perſon to be poſted on the walls, with a promiſe of a conſiderable reward to any who would deliver him to Santerre, dead or alive.

This fact may be true: but as I myſelf was obliged to remain concealed, from the 10th of Auguſt till I made my eſcape out of France, I had no opportunity of inquiring about it.

The 14th of July was rendered extremely critical, from the following circumſtances. The camp of 20,000 men, decreed by the aſſembly, was prevented from being eſtabliſhed, by the king's refuſal to ſanction the decree. In order to ſupply this, the Jacobins had taken meaſures for having all the vagabonds they could engage brought to Paris, under the title of *Fedérés*. Amongſt theſe was the famous band of banditti known by the name of *Marſeillois*, who, on the very day of their arrival in Paris, attacked, in the *Champs Eliſées*,

Eliſées, a detachment of the national guards, who were ſuppoſed moſt devoted to the king, and wounded ſeveral officers and ſoldiers.

Amongſt the meaſures of ſecurity which theſe dangerous bands rendered neceſſary, that which ſtruck me as the ſafeſt and moſt practicable was to eſtabliſh, at a houſe in the Carouſel, oppoſite to the Thuilleries, an aſſembly, under the title of the National Club or Aſſociation, where all the officers and ſoldiers of the national guard that could be depended on, and other citizens, well diſpoſed to the king and conſtitution, might occaſionally meet; and in caſe of any attack on the palace, aſſemble in arms, for its defence, on the ſhorteſt notice.

Buob, who firſt ſuggeſted this ſcheme to me, propoſed, at the ſame time, to add ſix or ſeven hundred auxiliaries, choſen out of the manufactory of Perier, of which ſeveral of the principal workmen were zealous royaliſts. Thoſe alone were to be in the ſecret; and two of them were to go every morning to the club, and remain the whole day,

day, that they might be ready to give notice for the others to come with their followers as ſoon as they were required.

The pay of thoſe principals was to be five livres a day, and that of the workmen forty ſols on the days they were employed, and ten when they were not. The real deſtination of this force was to be kept ſecret from the under-workmen. It was to be given out to them that they were only required to join the national guard, to aſſiſt in maintaining order in the capital. They were to wear red caps, and were to be armed with the pikes previouſly depoſited in the club-houſe; and in order to avoid receiving Jacobin ſpies, or perſons whoſe principles were not known, into this aſſociation, none were to be admitted but by a majority of three-fourths of the club.

The king approved of the plan, and deſired me to defray the expence of it, which amounted to one thouſand livres a day, including the other expences of the club, namely, the refreſhments, which were given at the loweſt price poſſible, in order

to

to attract the greater number of ſoldiers. The pikes, *bonnets rouges*, tables, chairs, benches, and other furniture, coſt 9000 livres. The eſtabliſhment was complete in leſs than four days.

About this time another aſſociation of the ſame kind was formed for the ſame purpoſe. It conſiſted of a number more or leſs conſiderable, choſen out of the populace, and commanded by one Lieutaut, formerly officer of the guard national of Marſeilles; a man equally brave and intelligent, who had acted a principal part in the inſurrection of that city againſt the revolution during the firſt national aſſembly.

I only knew Lieutaut by reputation; but I had employed one of his aid-de-camps with ſucceſs on the day of the *fête* given to the ſoldiers of *Chateau Vieux* on their recall from the gallies *.

Beſides

* The Swiſs regiment of *Chateau Vieux* having joined with the ſeditious troops at Nancy, againſt whom M. de Bouillé had been ſent, the moſt culpable had been condemned and ſent to the gallies at Breſt; but the Jacobins had influence with the aſſembly to obtain a decree to annul their

Beſides being courageous, and entirely devoted to the king, he poſſeſſed the talents of varying his countenance, and changing the ſound of his voice, ſo entirely, that he was not to be known for the ſame perſon. By this means he ſometimes made himſelf paſs for one of the Marſeillois; at other times, for a workman in one or other of the ſuburbs of Paris, whoſe accent and manners he could aſſume with wonderful ſucceſs. Thus, in thoſe various characters, he gained admiſſion into all the patriotic meetings, and groups; diſcovered their projects, and gave me information.

As it was to be dreaded that the Jacobins, ever on the watch, would ſeize the occaſion of the populace returning intoxicated from the *Champ de Mars*, where the

their condemnation, and ſet them at liberty. Not ſatisfied with this, they invited the ſoldiers to Paris, and then prepared a triumphant entertainment for them in the *Champ de Mars*. This entertainment was called *le Fête de Chateau Vieux*.

So different was the treatment which the Jacobins gave to thoſe Swiſs who had rebelled, from that which they ſhewed on the 10th of Auguſt to the Swiſs who were faithful to the king and conſtitution.

fête

fête of *Chateau Vieux* was to be held, to excite them to attack the palace, I inſtructed this agent to do every thing in his power to prevent this; for which purpoſe I directed him to employ about thirty of his moſt ſober friends to watch over the different groups, admoniſh them to moderation, entreating them not to diſgrace the patriotic *fête* by acts of tumult and exceſs; and aſſuring them, that ſuch was the wiſh of the Jacobins, of Petion, Marat, Robeſpierre, &c. &c. I gave him 600 livres to enable him to treat his principal agents with a good ſupper, and five livres each, in the name of a patriotic ſociety. I told him, at the ſame time, if his endeavours to maintain order were without effect, and if any danger was to be apprehended for the *Chateau*; in that caſe he was to return before the populace left the *Champ de Mars*, and to give timely notice of the danger by a ſignal from a particular part of the *Pont Royal* that could be remarked at the *Pavillion de Flore*, at a window, where a man appointed by M. de la Porte

was

was ſtationed to obſerve. But fortunately this precaution was unneceſſary, as the day paſſed with much greater tranquillity than was expected. I cannot determine whether this is to be attributed to the vigilance of my agents, or to a plan of the Jacobins, who might poſſibly have taken meaſures to prevent any tumult on this occaſion, that the Pariſians might be accuſtomed to ſee the populace aſſemble without dread.

The *fête* of *Chateau Vieux*, contrived by the Jacobins to irritate the people againſt the king's pretended tyranny, had all the ſucceſs they could wiſh. The ſoldiers who had revolted, and who juſtly merited death, were carried in a triumphal car to the *Champ de Mars*, where the abſurd populace, under the guidance of the infamous Collot d'Herbois, proclaimed them martyrs of liberty, victims of deſpotiſm; and, as ſuch, had careſſed, and given them money, over and above a conſiderable ſum raiſed by a general contribution.

That criminal farce was but too well calculated to familiariſe the people with the

idea of revolt; to encourage them in it; and by this means entirely extinguiſh the faint remains of reſpect they had ſtill retained for the king and his authority.

Buob, whoſe zeal was always active, propoſed to me to obliterate the impreſſion of this *fête* by giving another in honour of the *Mayor d'Eſtampes*, who had juſt been maſſacred, by a popular inſurrection, while diſcharging the duties of his place, and who was very generally regretted.

I mentioned the propoſal to the king, who approved of it, and ſuggeſted the means of rendering the *fête* more ſolemn and ſtriking.

"This *fête* is very well imagined," ſaid his majeſty; "and it will have ſtill more effect if the motion comes from the ſections or the municipality."

Buob undertook to have the motion made in the ſections, and in the *Council de la Commune*, by means of his adherents, who would repreſent it as the deſire of all good citizens; many of whom had already ſubſcribed for defraying the expence of the

fête. In reality, the ſum of 10,000 livres, which the king had authoriſed me to give, was prepared as the produce of an anonymous ſubſcription of above 200 contributors.

The *fête* was accordingly voted by the ſections and the municipality of Paris, in ſpite of all the manœuvres of the Jacobins to prevent it. Nothing was omitted to render the celebration ſplendid and affecting: the hymns and inſcriptions were compoſed with great judgment, and numerous pamphlets were diſtributed, execrating the plots and crimes of the factions. But ſuch reſources only produced a momentary effect. Thoſe were but weak meaſures to oppoſe againſt ferocious monſters, whoſe legal extermination was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the king and of the ſtate.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Lettre de Condorcet au Roi.

" Du Lundi, 6 Fevrier.

" L'ASSEMBLÉE nationale, ſire, m'a chargé de vous faire connoître qu'elle ſe bornoit à demander l'éxécution entière de la loi du 17 Juin, et qu'elle ne mettoit point de différence dans ſes députations quel que fut le nombre des membres qui les compoſoient, elle ſent que rien ne doit interrompre les communications entre elle et vous, et elle veut faire ceſſer tout différent à cet égard.

Le préſident de l'aſſemblée nationale,

CONDORCET."

No. II.

Lettre au Roi.

" ON a dû propoſer au roi de ne faire aucune mention de la lettre du préſident de l'aſſemblée ; je penſe au contraire très fortement que cette inſulte tolerée en annonce et en amenera inceſſament une ſuite d'autres beaucoup plus graves, et je crois qu'il eſt de la plus grande importance que le roi écrive aujourdhui à l'aſſemblée la lettre dont j'ai l'honneur de lui addreſſer le projet ; ſi ſa majeſté l'approuve, elle pourra faire appeller ſur le champ les miniſtres et leur propoſer cette lettre comme ſon avis perſonel ; il ſeroit bon qu'elle fut écrite de la main du roi, et que mon écriture ne parût pas."

Projet de lettre du Roi à l'aſſemblée.

" Meſſieurs,

" La nation, en me reconnoiſſant pour ſon, roi m'a confié le dépôt de ſa dignité inſéparable de la couronne : il n'eſt aucune

aucune circonſtance où je puiſſe y renoncer ; je vous renvoye la lettre que M. le Préſident ma fait remettre hier par un huiſſier ; la conſtitution a fixé la forme de la correſpondance de l'aſſemblée nationale avec le roi ; je ne dois recevoir, et je ne recevrai d'elle que des meſſages ou des décrêts, m'en rapportant au ſurplus pour les égards qui me ſont dûs aux ſentimens que le peuple Français a toujours montrés pour ſon roi."

No. III.

Lettre au Roi.

" Il a été fort queſtion au comité d'hier au ſoir de la maiſon civile du roi ; on à déjà formé un projet de liſte compoſé de trente perſonnes ; la diſcuſſion ſur le plan de la maiſon civile eſt renvoyée au comité de Mardi ; on doit conſulter l'ancien almanac de Verſailles et celui de la cour de Londres.

" Comme je n'ai d'autre déſir à cet égard, que celui de préſenter au roi un plan, et des perſonnes qui lui conviennent, j'oſe ſupplier ſa majeſté de vouloir bien me faire connoître ſes intentions ; je ne négligerai rien pour les faire prévaloir au comité ſans laiſſer ſoupçonner le moins de monde que le roi m'ait donné cette marque de confiance, que je n'ambitionne que pour pouvoir donner à ſa majeſté une nouvelle preuve de mon réſpect et de mon dévouement ſans bornes."

No. IV.

Lettre de M. de Leſſart au Roi.

" JE me ſuis rendu ce ſoir entre 10 et 11 heures chez le miniſtre de la juſtice, comme j'avois eû l'honneur d'en prévenir le roi, j'y ai trouvé non ſeulement M. de Bertrand et M. Tarbé, mais auſſi M. Cahier de Gerville. Preſque auſſitôt eſt arrivé M. de la Fayette que le Garde des Scéaux avoit déjà vû dans la journée. M. de la Fayette nous a dit qu'il auroit ſouhaité pouvoir concilier les miniſtres, que cela lui avoit toujours parû très difficile, attendu l'oppoſition ſubſiſtante entre M. de Narbonne et M. de Bertrand; mais qu'aujourdhui au point où les choſes étoient portées, il ne pouvoit plus s'en mêler; il s'eſt fondé ſur la publicité donnée aux lettres des généraux, et ſurtout à la réponſe que lui avoit faite M. de Narbonne; et il a déclaré qu'il n'avoit aucune part à cette

publicité ; qu'il n'y avoit point donné ſon conſentement, et qu'il n'en avoit été inſtruit que par la lecture même du journal. Après cette explication qui a été froide et courte, il s'eſt retiré.

" A peine étoit il ſorti que M. Cahier a fait éclater ſon indignation de la conduite de M. de Narbonne ; il la caractériſée de la manière la plus forte ; et il a fini par dire, qu'il ne falloit abſolument pas qu'il remit le pied au conſeil; mais en même tems il a dit que, ne ſe diſſimulant point l'effet que pourroit produire le renvoi de M. de Narbonne, il ne voyoit d'autre manière de tempérer cet effet, que la démiſſion volontaire mais ſimultanée de M. de Bertrand.

" M. de Bertrand a obſervé que ſa ſituation ne lui permettoit pas de donner ſa démiſſion dans le moment actuel ; il a dit qu'il la donneroit volontiers après l'époque du 15 Mars : que ç'avoit toujours été ſon deſſein, et qu'on y pouvoit compter.

" M. le Garde des Scéaux a appuyé M. de Bertrand et a dit que, ce ſeroit compromettre la dignité du roi, et la conſidéra-

tion du miniſtère, que de céder dans une pareille circonſtance.

" M. Cahier a inſiſté avec beaucoup de force ; il s'eſt fondé ſur la diſpoſition actuelle des eſprits, ſur l'intérêt de la choſe publique, ſur celui du roi ; il a été fortement ſeconde par M. Tarbe, de manière que M. de Bertrand a crû devoir condeſcendre à offrir ſa démiſſion auſſitôt que le roi auroit répondu aux obſervations de l'aſſemblée nationale ; mais M. Cahier a inſiſté de nouveau, et il a déclaré que ſi M. de Bertrand ne donnoit pas ſa démiſſion immédiatement après que le roi auroit demandé celle de M. de Narbonne, il ſe croiroit, lui Cahier, obligé de donner la ſienne dès ce matin.

" J'avois pris juſque là peu de part à cette diſcuſſion, étant au fonds pleinement de l'avis de M. de Gerville ; mais croyant devoir des ménagemens à la ſituation vraiment cruelle de M. de Bertrand, néanmoins voyant que les choſes étoient très avancées, j'ai obſervé à M. de Bertrand que, puiſqu'il étoit déterminé au ſacrifice, il falloit le

faire

faire d'une manière qui fut profitable au roi et à la chose publique ; et qu'il me paroissoit très utile qu'il donnat sa démission dans la journée, afin de neutraliser en quelque sorte le renvoi de M. de Narbonne.

" M. le Garde des Sceaux, qui avoit été très frappé de la résolution très prononcée de M. de Gerville, de quitter sur le champ, si M. de Bertrand ne quittoit pas le ministère le même jour que M. de Narbonne ; M. le Garde des Sceaux, dis-je, s'est rangé au même avis. M. de Bertrand y a consenti, et nous avons rédigé en commun la lettre qu'il doit écrire au roi et la réponse que nous proposerons à sa majesté de lui faire.

" Cette longue et importante discussion s'est passée sans la moindre aigreur, sans aucun autre intérêt que celui du roi et de la chose publique, et avec les formes et les expressions qui conviennent à des gens qui s'estiment réciproquement.

" Je dois observer que dans la réponse qui sera proposée au roi pour M. de Bertrand, sa majesté exige qu'il continue ses fonctions

fonctions juſqu'à ce qu'elle lui ait donné un ſucceſſeur. A l'égard de M. de Narbonne, nous avons penſé que rien n'étoit plus preſſant que de le remplacer, et qu'il ſeroit eſſentiel que ſon ſucceſſeur pût dès ce ſoir prendre ſéance au conſeil. Ce ſucceſſeur, je dois le dire au roi, nous a parû devoir être le chevalier de Graves; et nous nous ſommes d'autant plus attachés à cette idée, qu'après avoir bien cherché, nous n'en avons trouvé aucun autre. En conſéquence M. le Garde des Sceaux, qui l'avoit à tout événement fondé vaguement hier dans la journée, eſt allé chez lui à une heure de matin, mais il n'étoit pas encore rentré. M. le Garde des Sceaux a laiſſé un billet à ſa porte pour le prier de paſſer à la chancellerie de bonne heure afin de s'aſſurer qu'il accepteroit dans le cas où le roi jetteroit les yeux ſur lui.

" Nous avons auſſi penſé qu'il ſeroit néceſſaire, avant tout, que le roi fit venir les trois généraux, pour les empêcher de donner leur démiſſion: choſe à laquelle on ne manquera pas de les exciter par tous les moyens

moyens poſſibles. Les bonnes raiſons ne manqueront pas au roi ; et il eſt certain que ce ſeroit de leur part, manquer à tous les devoirs, et même à leur ſerment, que de vouloir quitter dans une conjoncture pareille. Néanmoins comme rien n'eſt plus eſſentiel, le roi jugera peut-être qu'il ſeroit très utile que la reine aſſiſtat à cet entretien, afin de réunir tous les genres d'intérêts et tous les motifs.

" Il y aura auſſi quelques précautions à prendre relativement à la garde ſoldée ; car on ne peut pas ſe diſſimuler qu'il ſeroit poſſible que les malveillans cherchaſſent à profiter de cette circonſtance pour exciter du trouble. On dit que M. de Boiſſieu n'eſt pas à Paris. Qui eſt-ce qui le remplace? Ne pourroit-on pas le faire venir ?

" Tous ces détails ſeront portés au roi dans la matinée par le Garde des Sceaux ; il a parû convenable que ce fut lui de préférence qui traitat cette affaire, comme l'ancien, et en quelque ſorte le chef du conſeil.

" Le roi pourroit faire venir enſuite M. de Gerville, auquel ſa majeſté diroit qu'elle adopte

adopte en tout ſon avis ; et auquel elle demanderoit de retarder un peu l'époque à laquelle il veut définitivement quitter le miniſtère. Cette époque eſt le 25 de ce mois, et il ſeroit à déſirer qu'elle fut differée, ne fut-ce que de huit jours. Il ſera bien bon que la reine mêle ſes invitations à celles du roi : le ſuccès en ſera plus aſſuré.

" Enfin le roi et la reine devront de grands témoignages d'intérêt et de bonté à M. de Bertrand injuſtement ſacrifié, et qui en cédant à la néceſſité des circonſtances, donne au roi une des plus grandes preuves d'attachement qu'il ſoit poſſible de lui offrir: c'eſt un homme de mérite, et qu'il ne faut pas regarder comme entièrement perdu pour le ſervice du roi.

" Je finirai en obſervant que la faute de M. de Narbonne eſt ſi évidente et ſi grave, qu'il eſt eſſentiel de la ſaiſir, ſi le roi en effet ne préféré pas de lui abandonner ſa confiance : mais alors il n'y a pas un moment à perdre. Toute explication ſeroit ſuperflue, et manqueroit de dignité, et il y auroit

roit d'autant plus d'inconvénient à laiſſer venir ce ſoir M. de Narbonne au conſeil, qu'il ne manqueroit pas d'apporter un projet de diſcours très patriotique du roi à l'aſſemblée nationale, et qu'il diroit le lendemain s'il étoit renvoyé, que c'eſt à cauſe de ce diſcours qu'il eſt tombé dans la diſgrace du roi.

" Je prends la liberté de rappeller au roi les trois généraux; il me ſemble qu'il faut tâcher de les voir enſemble, et de les voir s'il eſt poſſible, avant qu'ils ayent été circonvenus. Le roi pourroit ſe diſpenſer de leur faire part de ſa réſolution; il ſuffiroit en parlant de leurs lettres de leur demander ſi en effet, ayant juré d'être fidéles à la nation et au roi, ils ne veulent ſervir qu'autant que M. de Narbonne ſeroit miniſtre; et le roi pourroit les aſſurer que, ſuppoſé qu'il fit quelque changement à cet égard, ſon choix ne tomberoit que ſur un homme diſtingué par ſon patriotiſme et ſes talens.

" Vendredi, 5 heurs du matin."

No. V.

Lettre au Roi.

" JE ſupplie le roi de vouloir bien me renvoyer les obſervations qui ont dû lui être préſentées contre moi, par les commiſſaries députés à la ſanction, et auxquelles il eſt important de répondre le plutôt poſſible.

" Les miniſtres ont été aſſemblés hier en comité juſqu'à trois heures après minuit, à l'occaſion des lettres que M. de Narbonne a fait imprimer dans les journaux. Cette conduite, auſſi lâche que criminelle, les a tous revoltés; ils doivent propoſer ce matin à votre majeſté le renvoi de M. de Narbonne, qu'aucun de nous ne peut plus voir; mais comme la femme dangereuſe qui le gouverne pourroit profiter de l'état de criſe où nous ſommes, pour provoquer une inſurrection contre le château, ſous

prétexte qu'on renvoye un miniſtre patriote, parce qu'il à dénoncé un miniſtre ariſtocrate, j'ai penſé que mon attachement ſans borne à la perſonne du roi me faiſoit un devoir de lui offrir ma démiſſion auſſitôt que la retraite de M. de Narbonne ſeroit déterminée. Je n'en reſterai pas moins inviolablement dévoué au ſervice de votre majeſté, et mon unique ambition ſera toujours d'être à portée de lui donner les preuves les plus eſſentielles du profond reſpect, et de tous les ſentimens qui m'attachent à ſa perſonne.

"Ce 9 Mars."

No. VI.

Lettre du Roi à l'assemblée nationale, à l'occasion des observations qu'elle avoit adressées le 8 Mars à S. M. contre le ministre de la marine.

" Messieurs,

" Paris, le 10 Mars 1792.

" J'AI examiné les observations que le zèle et la sollicitude de l'assemblée nationale l'ont portée à m'adresser sur la conduite du ministre de la marine ; je recevrai toujours avec plaisir les communications qu'elle croira utile d'entretenir avec moi. Les observations qui m'ont été remises de la part de l'assemblée me paroissent absolument conformes aux dénonciations sur lesquelles elle avoit déclaré n'y avoir lieu de délibérer. Je m'étois fait rendre compte alors des réponses que M. Bertrand avoit présentées contre les différens griefs, et j'avois porté le même jugement que l'assemblée. Depuis, aucune plainte fondée ne

s'eſt fait entendre relativement aux différentes parties de ſon adminiſtration, et tout ce qui me revient de la part des colons, du commerce, et des gens de mer, me préſente des témoignages de ſon zèle et de l'utilité de ſes ſervices; enfin aucune violation de la loi ne lui étant reprochée, je croirois manquer à la juſtice de lui retirer ma confiance; au reſte les miniſtres ſavent bien que le ſeul moyen de l'obtenir et de la conſerver, eſt de faire exécuter les loix avec énergie et avec fidélité.

(Signé) LOUIS,

et plus bas M. S. F. DUPORT."

No. VII.

Extrait du Mercure Français du Samedi, 4 Fevrier 1792.

" Paris, 25 Janvier 1792.

" VOUS rendrés compte ſûrement, monſieur, de l'odieuſe attaque dont le miniſtre actuel de la marine eſt l'objet. Ses diſcours à l'aſſemblée, l'évidence de ſes moyens juſtificatifs, déconcertent un inſtant ſes ennemis, et ne les laſſent pas. Je vous déclare que c'eſt ſa faute; et que ſi l'on pouvoit s'indigner de la patience et de la modération d'un homme honnête et loyal, tel que M. *Bertrand*, je l'appellerois un homme foible. Je lui reprocherois amèrement ſes ménagemens pour des hommes auſſi méchants qu'audacieux, et qu'il ne tenoit qu'à lui de démaſquer aux yeux de l'aſſemblée. M. *Bertrand* a reçu, j'en ſuis certain, les piéces que je vous

envoye. Il eſt notoire à Breſt, que M. de Marigny, commandant de la marine, en a obtenu la communication de la municipalité, et j'ai confronté moi-même les copies qui m'ont été adreſſées, avec celles qui ſont au bureau de la marine. Ainſi je vous en garantis l'authenticité. Quelle eſt donc la raiſon qui peut juſtifier le ſilence de M. *Bertrand* ſur cette atrocité des Sieurs *Cavelier* et *Malaſſis*?—Un miniſtre qui a la preuve des intrigues de club, des provocations incendiaires de deux députés, n'oſe pas publier de tels faits! Et il eſpère échapper ainſi à de nouvelles perfidies! Non, il n'y a jamais de compoſition à faire avec les méchans; ce n'eſt pas généroſité; c'eſt foibleſſe que de leur pardonner; et tout eſtimable qu'eſt M. *Bertrand*, je ſuis faché pour lui, qu'on ait à oppoſer à ſa réputation de fermeté, de tels ménagements pour M. M. *Cavelier* et *Malaſſis*, &c."

Extrait

Extrait de la lettre écrite au club de *Breſt*, *par les Sieurs* Cavelier *et* Malaſſis, *députés à l'aſſemblée nationale, et arrivée à Breſt* le Vendredi 11 Décembre.

" QUANT à l'événement du Sieur *Lajaille*; malgré que nous prenions intérêt à lui, l'inſigne ariſtocrate ne l'a que trop mérité; ne ſoyés point inquiet ſur ſon arreſtation, il eſt en ſûreté en priſon, il en ſortira quand il pourra. Nous ignorons ſous quelle couleur le *ruſé Marigny* aura peint cette correction au Sieur *Bertrand*; nous ſommes étonnés que ce dernier n'en ait pas encore rendu compte à l'aſſemblée; mais nous avons remis les pièces au préſident, et nous attendons l'impoſteur de pied ferme. Vous avés raiſon de l'accuſer, de le dénoncer; nous verrons comment il ſe lavera d'avoir dit qu'il ne manquoit aucun officier de la marine dans les ports. Quant au commandement qu'il donne au Sieur *Lajaille Klerec* et autres contre-révolutionnaires, nous ne pouvons malheureuſement aller contre; mais dans peu vous *verrés comment*

ment nous les traiterons, et comment nous déjouerons leurs infâmes complots. Nous déteſtons les *Bertrand*, les *Marigny*; l'un quitte ſa place, parcequ'il voit que vous découvrés toutes ſes menées; s'il eut été à la dernière ſéance, il eut entendu bien faire ſes éloges: l'autre veut la garder pour mieux ſervir les projets de ſes complices. Veillés, veillés, il eſt un coup funeſte combiné, qui, du ſein de la capitale, s'étend ſur les frontières, même au dela du Rhin. Tenés bon plutôt que de céder; nous périrons avant vous."

Extrait d'une autre lettre des mêmes Députés, en date du 5 Novembre 1791.

"Les émigrés redoublent d'efforts; les prêtres non-aſſermentés les ſecondent de leur mieux; tous les ennemis de la patrie ſe réuniſſent pour conſpirer ſa perte. Nous verrons dans quatre mois ſi les Français ſont dignes de la liberté. On ne peut plus ſe le diſſimuler, il y aura une criſe, elle eſt néceſſaire, elle eſt même déſirable. *Nous ne ſerons tranquilles, que lorſque nous aurons exterminé*

terminé les parjures, les traitres que nous avons épargnés trop long-tems. Paſſé un certain tems la prudence eſt une foibleſſe, la patience n'eſt plus de ſaiſon, et la généroſité eſt une extravagance."

No. VIII.

Note *ſur quelques inſurrections qui ſe ſont manifeſtées à bord des bâtimens de l'Etat, & des Juris qui ont été tenus à cette occaſion.*

Juillet 1790.

L'Alceſte, *commandée par M. de Beaurepaire, en ſtation dans les mers du Levant.*

Le nommé Pifard, cuiſinier du capitaine, inſulte gravement un officier. M. de Beaurepaire le chaſſe de ſon ſervice & veut le faire debarquer. L'équipage ſe ſoulève, prend les armes, injurie le capitaine, & s'oppoſe au debarquement de Pifard ; il exige même qu'on lui donne un certificat de fidélité.

Quelque temps après, M. de Beaurepaire chaſſe un kirlanguich qui paroiſſoit ſuſpect ; pluſieurs hommes de l'équipage ſe permettent d'ordonner la manœuvre. Le kirlanguich

guich ſe ſauve à Saint-Nicolas, il exhibe ſes patentes qui ſont reconnues valables ; l'équipage veut couler bas le kirlanguich, et, ſans reſpecter l'aſyle du pavillon, il demande la mort de deux officiers de ce bâtiment, et d'un autre, qui s'étoient rendus à bord de l'*Alceſte*.

Précédemment, dans une relâche à Paros, ils s'étoient permis des excès de tout genre contre les habitans de cette île.

Point de punition.

La Capricieuſe, *commandée par M. de Boubée, à Rochefort.*

Décembre 1790, & Janvier 1791.

M. de Boubée deſcendu à terre, apprend qu'il ſe tient des propos fâcheux ſur ſa conduite, et que ſon équipage a le projet de le livrer au peuple. Le prétexte du mécontentement eſt que cet officier n'a pas voulu recevoir devant la Martinique, un canot portant pavillon national, tandis qu'il en avoit reçu deux envoyés avec ce même pavillon, par M. de Damas, et que ſon chef lui avoit fait depuis le ſignal de ne pas com-

communiquer avec la terre. M. de Boubée, par ordre de M. de Vaudreuil, ſe rend à bord, il y reſte un jour : de nouveaux avis l'engagent à quitter la frégate ; il veut partir, l'équipage s'y oppoſe, le force à remonter dans ſa chambre, le fouille, fait une viſite générale, et met un garde à ſa porte. Le commandant du port lui ordonne les arrêts : la municipalité vient le prendre à bord et le conduire à l'amiral.

Juri d'accuſation contre l'équipage notamment contre cinq hommes qui avoient excité le déſordre. Ils ſont déchargés d'accuſation.

Sur la plainte d'un pilotin embarqué ſur la *Capricieuſe*, juri, conſeil martial pour juger M. de Boubée. Cet officier eſt également déchargé d'accuſation.

Avril 1791.

Le Bricq la Levrette, *commandé par M. Deniau, Sous-lieutenant à la Martinique.*

Auguſtin Haman, maître d'équipage, donne à ſouper à quelques amis ; il prie le capitaine de lui envoyer deux bouteilles de vin,

vin, on les lui donne; après ſouper il veut reconduire les convives, M. Deuiau s'y oppoſe. Le maître inſiſte. Sur de nouveaux refus, il vomit des injures atroces accompagnées de menaces; le capitaine donne ordre de mettre Haman aux fers; l'équipage prend parti pour celui-ci: on le débarque le lendemain par ordre du général.

Point de juri.

Août 1791.

La Flûte le Dromadaire, *commandée par M. Sebire de Beauchéne, Lieutenant de vaiſſeau à Rochefort.*

Les volontaires embarqués à bord de cette flûte, demandent qu'un de leurs camarades dont la conduite méritoit les plus vifs reproches, ſoit déſarmé. Ce vœu eſt prononcé par la preſque totalité de l'équipage. Le capitaine d'armes et le maître d'équipage excitent une fermentation conſidérable, pour que le volontaire ne ſoit pas débarqué. Le bâtiment eſt obligé de rentrer dans le port.

Juri,

Juri, dont le réſultat eſt de déclarer les accuſés déchargés d'accuſation.

Août 1791.

La Gabarre la Lionne, *commandée par M. Jaubert, Sous-lieutenant de vaiſſeau à Rochefort.*

Une chaloupe eſt arrêtée par les matelots de la gabarre, ſous le prétexte que cette embarcation eſt chargée de contrebande; on ſe refuſe à l'ordre de la relâcher donné par le capitaine. Le Sieur Piechaud, maître pilote, excite le tumulte, et l'inſurrection ſe manifeſte. L'équipage dreſſe procès-verbal et veut le porter à la municipalité. Ordre du capitaine de ne laiſſer deſcendre perſonne à terre: au mépris de cet ordre, les députés nommés par l'équipage ſe rendent à la municipalité. Le capitaine ordonne à Piechaud de ſe rendre aux arrêts il déſobéit.

Juri, conſeil de juſtice. Le maître pilote eſt déchargé d'accuſation.

Août

Août 1791.

La Frégate la Galathée, *commandée par M. de Cambis, Major de vaiſſeau en rade à Breſt.*

Un officier ordonne l'exercice de la manœuvre, les gabiers déſobéiſſent; douze hommes de l'équipage ſe montrent les plus inſubordonnés et les plus ſéditieux; le commandant du port donne ordre de les faire débarquer. Le maître de l'équipage demande à deſcendre à terre, et, ſur le refus qui lui en eſt fait, il ſe permet des réflexions déplacées; on le débarque. Repréſentations de la part du club; on n'y accéde pas.

Point de juri.

L'Embuſcade.

L'Aſſemblée Nationale eſt informée que l'équipage de cette frégate a contraint le capitaine et l'état-major à la ramener en France, & qu'elle eſt encore dans le port de Rochefort. Le club de Bordeaux vient récemment d'envoyer des émiſſaires pour

engager les membres de la ſociété de Rochefort à s'oppoſer au rembarquement du capitaine et de l'état major : auſſi ces officiers, bien convaincus qu'ils oppoſeroient vainement leur courage à l'aſcendant du club ſur l'eſprit des matelots, n'ont pas même tenté cette lutte inégale, & ſe ſont retirés.

On ne parle point des inſurrections à bord des bâtimens ſtationnés aux Antilles, parce qu'on ne ſeroit pas en état d'en produire les détails ; mais on ne peut les révoquer en doute.

Un député extraordinaire de la Guadeloupe, qui vient d'arriver à Paris, a annoncé qu'il étoit porteur de lettres originales par leſquelles des membres de différens clubs excitoient les équipages à la révolte.

Octobre 1791.

La Frégate la Fidelle, *commandée par M. de Roſily, Major de vaiſſeau à Breſt.*

Des matelots ſont convaincus d'avoir volé de l'étamine à pavillon ; on en trouve des

des morceaux dans leurs coffres et dans leurs ſacs.

Juri. Tous ſont déchargés d'accuſation.

Extrait ſommaire *des Comptes ſucceſſivement rendus de pluſieurs inſurrections qui ſe ſont manifeſtées dans les Ports.*

BREST,

26 JUILLET 1789.

M. le Large, directeur du port, éprouve une ſcène déſagréable de la part de la populace, ſous le prétexte qu'il a tenu des propos indiſcrets qu'il déſavoue. Cet officier eſt obligé de quitter Breſt.

Eſcadre *de Breſt, commandée par M. d'Albert.*

1790.

Septembre.

Le code pénal eſt lû à bord du vaiſſeau l'*Entreprenant*, et rejeté.

Inſurrection à bord du vaiſſeau *le Tourville*, ſans motif.

L'équipage du vaiſſeau *la Ferme* ne veut pas partir, ſans avoir reçû de nouvelles avances. Des billets anonymes circulent

dans

dans toute l'eſcadre pour exciter les équipages à faire la même demande.

Un matelot du vaiſſeau *le Léopard* tient les propos les plus ſéditieux à bord du vaiſſeau *le Patriote*, & inſulte M. Huan, major de ce vaiſſeau. M. d'Albert ayant demandé ſi cet homme étoit ivre, le renvoie attendre la fin de ſon ivreſſe. Fermentation parmi l'équipage. Le patron de canot ſe rend chez M. d'Albert, et lui annonce d'un ton abſolu que le matelot ne doit pas être puni, & qu'on ne ſouffrira pas qu'il le ſoit : le tumulte augmente. M. d'Entrecaſteaux quitte ſon vaiſſeau. M. d'Albert ſe rend à bord du *Patriote*, et cherche en vain à ramener l'équipage. En deſcendant à terre, il eſt inſulté, on crie au patron de faire chavirer ſon canot.

Un grand nombre de ſoldats et matelots du *Majeſtueux* s'emparent de la chaloupe ; ils deſcendent à terre, après avoir refuſé de faire l'exercice de la manœuvre.

A bord du vaiſſeau l'*Apollon*, on fait la motion de jetter trois officiers à la mer.

MM. Hector, d'Albert, de Marigny, d'Entrecaſteaux, et Huon, ſont mandés à l'hôtel-de-ville pour lire publiquement leur correſpondance. On leur demande des copies de leurs lettres, et une atteſtation qui certifie que l'arrivée du vaiſſeau *le Léopard* n'avoit pas cauſé d'inſurrection en ville.

Octobre.

Les commiſſaires du Roi ſont mal reçus par l'équipage du *Majeſtueux*; leur ſéance eſt longue, tumultueſe et inutile. On demande à grands cris le renvoi du général et du capitaine du vaiſſeau. Les commiſſaires ne croient pas pouvoir, ſans ſe compromettre, aller à bord des autres vaiſſeaux de l'eſcadre.

L'équipage du vaiſſeau *la Ferme* demande le débarquement de M. du Cleſmeur, major, et ſur le refus qui lui eſt fait, il exige du capitaine la promeſſe que cet officier ne fera aucun ſervice à bord.

Un matelot de *la Bellone* frappe un officier: l'équipage ne veut pas ſouffrir qu'il ſoit puni ſuivant la loi, et demande à le

punir lui-même. Ce matelot eſt débarqué, ce qui, dans la circonſtance, étoit plutôt une faveur qu'une punition.

M. d'Albert donne ſa démiſſion.

Eſcadre *de Breſt, ſous le Commandement de M. de Souillac.*

Octobre 1790.

Le plus mauvais eſprit règne parmi les équipages ; ils inſultent grièvement tous les officiers qui vont en rade.

Inſurrection à bord du *Jupiter* relativement aux vivres.

Le détachement de Poitou, en garniſon ſur *la Réunion*, veut exiger qu'on lui donne en avance du vin ; il veut forcer la cambuſe : on s'y oppoſe. Les ſoldats tiennent les plus mauvais propos ſur le lieutenant chargé du détail et ſur le commis, et demandent que celui-ci ſoit débarqué.

Sur la corvette *la Perdrix*, des matelots s'emparent de la chaloupe, et vont porter plainte contre le capitaine de ce qu'il ne veut pas débarquer un homme qui déplaît à l'équipage.

Un

Un officier du vaiſſeau l'*América* eſt gravement inſulté.

L'équipage de l'*Auguſte* envoie une députation à MM. les commiſſaires du Roi, pour ſe plaindre de ce qu'on ne leur donnoit pas aſſez de légumes. Les commiſſaires ſe tranſportent à bord; ils menacent un homme de le faire débarquer: celui-ci interpelle l'équipage et ſe met ſous ſa protection. Tous s'écrient qu'ils ne ſouffriront pas qu'on le débarque: on eſt forcé de laiſſer cette inſurrection impunie.

A bord du même vaiſſeau, & ſous le même prétexte du manque de légumes, on avoit injurié deux officiers, on leur avoit porté le poing au viſage: on prend encore le parti de ſupporter ces inſultes.

L'équipage du vaiſſeau l'*Auguſte* chaſſe, de ſa propre autorité, un maître d'équipage, et ſe refuſe à le recevoir.

M. de Terraſſon, major de vaiſſeau, eſt également renvoyé par les gens de l'*América*.

A bord du *Majeſtueux*, un cambuſier qui avoit battu un ſoldat, eſt mis aux fers.

Deux cents hommes, preſque tous novices matelots, briſent les fers de ce cambuſier.

Novembre.

Une députation des marins et ſoldats embarqués ſur l'eſcadre, viennent lire à M. de Souillac, une adreſſe à l'Aſſemblée Nationale, laquelle contenoit des injures contre les officiers de la marine.

Les ſoldats embarqués ſur l'*América*, diſent au commandant qu'ils ſont aſſez gros et grands pour ſavoir ce qu'ils ont à faire, et qu'ils ne demanderont plus la permiſſion d'aller à terre: effectivement, depuis cette annonce, ils vont à terre ſans permiſſion.

Le maître d'équipage du *Majeſtueux* ayant voulu s'oppoſer au tumulte qui avoit lieu ſur le gaillard d'avant, eſt colleté par un matelot: celui-ci eſt mis aux fers. Pluſieurs hommes étant venus pour le mettre en liberté. M. de Marailles, lieutenant de vaiſſeau, accourt; le priſonnier s'élance ſur cet officier, qui ſe recule et met le ſabre à la main; un matelot armé d'une bûche, veut le frapper par derrière; il eſt arrêté par

un

un officier, la garde eſt appelée, les deux matelots coupables ſont mis aux fers.

Eſcadre *commandée par M. de Bougainville.*

Novembre 1790.

Un matelot du vaiſſeau le *Duguai-Trouin* ſe fait donner du vin à l'aide d'un billet contrefait du lieutenant en pied; on le fait mettre aux fers. L'équipage briſe les fers, et s'oppoſe à ce que cet homme ſoit envoyé en priſon.

Inſurrection à bord du *Téméraire*, de l'*América* et de la *Surveillante*. L'équipage de l'*América* briſe les fers d'un matelot qui avoit été condamné à cette punition, et les jette à la mer. Dix-ſept mutins de ce vaiſſeau ſont débarqués.

Une punition infligée à un matelot du *Jupiter*, excite une émeute générale à bord de ce vaiſſeau; l'équipage vouloit s'emparer des embarcations, et venir à terre.

Décembre.

La diſette de vin oblige de donner aux équipages le déjeûner en eau-de-vie : quelques-uns la refuſent, d'autres la prennent avec des murmures : on punit les plus mutins ; l'inſurrection eſt plus forte à la caſerne des matelots que dans la rade.

Janvier 1791.

Un matelot frappe violemment un maître d'équipage, et lui démet le bras : le conſeil de juſtice condamne le coupable à la calle.

Mai.

M. de la Porte-Vezins, alors commandant de la Marine, eſt aſſailli chez lui par une troupe de ſoldats armés qui le conſtituent priſonnier dans ſa maiſon, en plaçant des ſentinelles intérieures et extérieures, pour empêcher à la fois qu'il ne ſorte, et qu'aucun officier ne communique du dehors avec lui.

Le

Le motif de cette ſcène de révolte eſt d'obtenir, au profit de la troupe, le payement des ſommes qu'elle réclamoit. Ce commandant eſt contraint d'en donner l'ordre.

Après cet acte de violence, M. de la Porte-Vezins ſentant que ſon autorité et ſa perſonne ſont compromiſes, demande et obtient la permiſſion de quitter le commandement.

Au mois de Septembre 1790, M. de Marigni, major-général, avoit été grièvement inſulté, et on avoit planté une potence devant ſa porte, ſans qu'aucun ſujet de plainte, aucun prétexte, euſſent parû donner lieu à un auſſi ſanglant outrage.

TOULON.

Affaire de M. d'Albert.

1er Décembre 1789.

Le 30 Novembre, M. d'Albert renvoya de l'arſenal deux maîtres de manœuvre non-entretenus, qui avoient donné des ſujets de mécontentement.

Le lendemain 1er Décembre, on vint annoncer à ce commandant, qui étoit dans le port, qu'une députation du Conſeil permanent et de la Municipalité demandoit à lui parler, ſoit chez lui, ſoit à la porte de l'arſenal, ſoit à l'hôtel de ville. M. d'Albert ſe rendit chez lui, entouré d'une populace nombreuſe qui l'injurioit et ſe diſpoſoit à l'attaquer. Rendus à l'hôtel du commandant, les conſuls demandèrent la grace des deux hommes qui avoient été renvoyés la veille, et l'obtinrent à force d'inſtances.

Pendant ce temps, deux détachemens de cinquante canonniers-matelots étoient en bataille ſur la place d'armes; M. d'Albert conſentit à les faire rentrer dans les caſernes, ſur l'aſſurance que les conſuls lui donnèrent que la milice nationale contiendroit le peuple. Cependant la foule augmentoit à tout moment, on jetoit des pierres aux fenêtres, tout annonçoit la plus violente effervescence. En vain M. d'Albert demanda la proclamation de la loi martiale, la Municipalité s'y refuſa. Le tumulte alloit toujours croiſſant; M. de

Bon-

Bonneval fut bleſſé à la main et à la tête; M. de Saint-Julien, qui avoit déjà été inſulté et déſarmé, fut aſſailli ſur la place, renverſé par terre, bleſſé de pluſieurs coups; il alloit perdre la vie, lorſqu'un officier de la garde nationale et un volontaire l'arrachèrent à ſes aſſaſſins. M. d'Albert ſortit alors de l'hôtel, accompagné de quelques officiers, pour le dégager; et ſans avoir employé la force, ni même la menace, ils rentrèrent avec M. de Saint-Julien.

L'attroupement ſembloit alors ſe diſſiper; mais au moment où tout paroiſſoit rentrer dans l'ordre, un certain nombre de volontaires ayant pénétré dans l'hôtel, demandèrent à grands cris qu'on leur livrât M. de Broves, ſous le prétexte qu'il avoit ordonné le raſſemblement des canonniers-matelots. On fut obligé de leur abandonner cet officier. Bientôt après ils enfoncèrent les portes, et voulurent s'emparer de M. de Villages; enfin ils ſe ſaiſirent de M. d'Albert, et après lui avoir arraché ſon

épée.

épée, apres avoir fait la même inſulte à MM. de Bonneval et de Villages, on les traîna aux priſons du palais à travers les huées et les inſultes de la populace. M. d'Albert reçut deux bleſſures, et fut mis au cachot avec les compagnons de ſon infortune.

Le peuple, dont la rage n'étoit pas encore aſſouvie, chercha M. Gautier, directeur des conſtructions, pour le conduire également dans les priſons; mais cet officier qui avoit couru les plus grands dangers, fut aſſez heureux pour s'échapper.

Huit jours après, M. de Caſtellet qui avoit été bleſſé le premier Décembre, et M. d'Albert qui avoit eu pluſieurs accès de fièvre, ſe rendirent à l'hôpital: le peuple s'aſſembla tumultueuſement, on les fit ſortir de leur lit, ils furent obligés de traverſer la ville en robe de chambre, ſoutenus l'un et l'autre par des volontaires, et on les reſſerra plus étroitement dans leur priſon.

Affaire

Affaire de M. le Commandeur de Glandèves.

Mai 1790.

Le 3 Mai, un nombreux attroupement ſe porta chez M. le commandeur de Glandevès : on lui fit quelques demandes auxquelles il accéda ; on affecta de ne pas ajouter foi à ſes réponſes, et on l'entraîna avec violence à l'hôtel de ville. Pendant le trajet, cet officier général fut ſans ceſſe menacé de perdre la vie. M. de Cholet, lieutenant de vaiſſeau, reçut trois coups de ſabre et deux de bayonnette, et courut les plus grands dangers. M. d'Archimbaud, élève de la Marine, voulant donner du ſecours au commandant, fut aſſailli par une troupe de forcenés, et fut heureuſement ſauvé par une femme qui le fit entrer chez elle. Le peuple ſe porta dans les auberges où ſe trouvoient quelques officiers, avec le projet de les égorger tous.

M. le commandeur de Glandevès fut détenu vingt-quatre heures à l'hôtel de ville.

Affaire de M. de Caſtellet.

Août 1790.

M. de Caſtellet, obligé de fuir après l'événement du 1er Décembre 1789, s'étoit retiré à Nice; il déſira de retourner avec ſûreté dans ſa terre de Dardennes, à une lieue de Toulon. La Municipalité de cette ville invita cet officier général à rentrer dans ſes foyers, en l'aſſurant d'une entière protection. . M. de Caſtellet ſe rendit à Toulon, et y prêta le ſerment civique. A peine étoit-il rendu chez M. le commandeur de Glandèves, que les ouvriers ſortirent de l'arſenal et annoncèrent qu'ils *en vouloient* à M. de Caſtellet. Cet officier ſortit ſur le champ de la ville à pied, accompagné de deux officiers et de deux volontaires de la garde nationale, et ſe voyant pourſuivi, il entra avec ſes compagnons dans une auberge, et s'y réfugia dans un grenier. Les malfaiteurs arrivèrent; ils trouvèrent bientot M. de Caſtellet, et malgré la préſence du maire, ils entraînèrent cet officier général, ils le traînèrent ſur le chemin dans

la

la pouſſière, après lui avoir volé tout ce qu'il avoit ſur lui. Cet infortuné alloit être victime de la fureur du peuple, lorſque deux grenadiers du régiment de Barrois, paſſant par haſard et ſans armes, prirent M. de Caſtellet ſur leurs épaules, et le portèrent criblé de bleſſures & mourant, à l'hôpital de la Charité.

Deux de ces aſſaſſins condamnés aux galères, ont été mis en liberté d'après le vœu de l'amniſtie.

ROCHEFORT.

Dans les premiers mois de 1790, M. Macarty-Macteigne, major-général, fut aſſailli chez lui par deux mille ouvriers armés, ſous prétexte que c'étoit lui qui s'oppoſoit à ce que la cloche du port ſonnât les jours de pluie. Il ſe préſenta à eux, et parvint d'abord, par ſa contenance ferme, à en impoſer à ces révoltés, et à faire tomber les armes de leurs mains; mais la Municipalité inſtruite particulièrement que cet officier devoit être aſſaſſiné pendant la nuit ſuivante,

vante, le prévint ſecrètement, et facilita elle-même ſa ſortie de la ville.

Il eſt à obſerver que M. Macarty-Macteigne avoit toujours été chéri et reſpecté à Rochefort; ce qui eſt prouvé même par la première impreſſion que ſa préſence et ſes diſcours avoient produite ſur l'eſprit des révoltés. Il eſt donc bien prouvé qu'ils étoient excités par des ſuggeſtions ſecrètes.

No. IX.

Lettre du roi à l'assemblée nationale, relativement au prétendu Comité Autrichien.

" Le 20 Mai 1792.

" J'AI ordonné, M. le Président, au ministre de la justice de faire part à l'assemblée nationale de l'ordre qu'il vient d'adresser de ma part à l'accusateur public au sujet du prétendu comité Autrichien. Il importe au bien de l'état que cette affaire soit parfaitement éclaircie. Je pense que l'assemblée nationale ordonnera de communiquer au tribunal les renseignemens que plusieurs de ses membres ont dit avoir sur cette affaire, elle sentira aisément l'inconvenance qu'il y a de recueillir de pareilles dénonciations, de n'en laisser percer que ce qui peut entretenir les soupçons dans le public, et le danger de me laisser ignorer les autres.

(Signé) LOUIS."

No. X.

Exposé de la conduite du marquis de Bouillé, rédigé par lui-même pour être remis au roi.

" JE n'avoit jamais crû, qu'il fut néceſſaire de juſtifier ma conduite à l'occaſion du départ ſecret du roi pour Montmedy, et de l'arreſtation de S. M. à Varennes. Entouré d'officiers qui en ont été témoins, dont pluſieurs officiers généraux et autres très-diſtingués ont ſuivi mon ſort en quittant le royaume lors de ce fatal événement ; ils ont pû et dû me juger, et ils n'ont laiſſé aucun nuage ſur mes intentions, ſur mes démarches, ni ſur les cauſes du malheur qui m'a enveloppé avec la famille royale. Si j'ai toujours penſé avec douleur à la cataſtrophe de Varennes, j'ai crû néceſſaire d'en garder le ſilence ; et ſurtout inutile d'accuſer des perſonnes qui en ont fait manquer la réuſſite, par l'inexécu-

tion des ordres que je leurs avois donnés, par leur imprudence, et par leur peu de prévoyance, mais, dont les intentions étoient pures, et la bonne volonté bien connue. Cependant, depuis que je ſais qu'on a cherché à me donner des torts, à me calomnier, et à me rendre reſponſable du non ſuccès de cette entrepriſe; je crois devoir, quoiqu'à regret, éclairer les perſonnes pour les quelles j'ai dû employer tous mes moyens; pour les quelles j'ai tout ſacrifié, tout ôſé; pour les quelles enfin j'ai fait tout ce qu'un homme peut faire, dans la ſeule vue de remplir mes devoirs, et de meriter leur eſtime que je préfere à leurs bienfaits, aux quels je renonce pour jamais.

" Le roi ſait que dès le commencement de la révolution, je voulois quitter la France, et ſervir des puiſſances étrangères qui m'offroient du ſervice. Il eut la bonté, vers le mois de Fevrier de l'année 1790, de m'engager à reſter à ſon ſervice et à prêter mon ſerment, m'aſſurant que je pouvois lui être utile. J'exécutai ſes ordres; et j'eus l'honneur de lui écrire, que je lui faiſois le

plus grand ſacrifice qu'un homme pût faire, celui de mes principes et de mes opinions, dans la ſeule vue de lui prouver mon zèle. Au moins de Juillet de la même année, toutes les troupes que je commandois, que j'avois juſqu'alors conſervées dans l'ordre et dans la diſcipline, ayant ſuivi l'exemple du reſte de l'armée, et s'étant livrées à tous les excés du deſordre et de la révolte; au point que je fus mis en joue à Metz par des ſoldats du régiment de Salm Salm, et livré à leur fureur pendant plus de deux heures ; je jugeai que je ne pouvois plus rendre aucun ſervice au roi, ni à la choſe publique; je demandai mon congé, qui me fut accordé. J'allois partir, et ſervir en Ruſſie, où je deſirois trouver des occaſions d'acquerir de la gloire, quand l'inſurrection de Nancy ſurvint, et quand le fils du miniſtre de la guerre, Monſieur de Gouverney, arriva à Metz, et m'engagea à faire exécuter les ordres du roi et le décret de l'aſſemblée, contre la garniſon et le peuple de Nancy révoltés. Quelque délicate que fût cette commiſſion, je ſuſpendis encore une fois mon départ, dans l'eſpoir

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de ſervir le roi et ma malheureuſe patrie. Après cet évenement, qui réuſſit mieux que je ne pouvois le préſumer, il fut queſtion du départ du roi ; et leurs majeſtés ſavent tout ce qui s'eſt paſſé, juſqu'au moment où ce projet fut exécuté, je propoſai un raſſemblement des meilleurs regiments en camp ſous Montmedi, ce qui fut adopté. Il eſt vrai que pendant l'hyver et le printems, on m'ôta mes meilleurs régimens, tels que les Carabiniers, Vigier Suiſſe, Royal Liégeois, qu'on en eloigna d'autres, tels que le regiment de Saxe Huſſard, Royal Normandie Cavalerie, que je comptois employer à protéger le départ du roi: ce qui me contraignit à en employer d'autres moins bons. Je propoſai au roi de ſortir par la Flandre Autrichienne, ce qui étoit plus court et plus facile ; et de venir à Montmedi par les Ardennes. Il s'y refuſa. Je propoſai la route de Rheims par Stenay à Montmedi, comme la plus courte, la plus facile, la plus aiſée à couvrir : on m'objecta la crainte que la famille royale ne fût reconnue à Rheims. Enfin, j'indiquai celle de Chalons et de

Varennes, quoique ſujette à des inconvéniens parcequ'il falloit paſſer par pluſieurs villes, parcequ'il n'y avois pas de poſte établie dans cette derniere ville. Je propoſai de ne pas placer de détachemens pour protéger la marche du roi, en craignant les inconveniens. On me dit qu'on en vouloit; je n'inſiſtai pas.

" Le lieu ou le roi devoit arriver et la route qu'il devoit ſuivre, convenus; je propoſai au roi de la faire reconnoître par M. de Goguelas, officier de l'état major, que je ſavois lui être particulièrement attaché, et d'employer M. de N———, qui avoit ſon régiment à portée, pour faire preparer les relais néceſſaires. Le roi y conſentit, et il me permit de les mettre dans la confidence. Les reconnoiſſances faites, ainſi que les diſpoſitions projettées pour l'emplacement des troupes, et pour leur raſſemblement à Montmédi; j'envoya M. de N——— à Paris, pour les communiquer au roi, et pour prendre ſes ordres. M. de N——— revint, et m'apporta l'approbation de leurs majeſtés. J'envoyai encore M. de Goguelas auprès d'elles,

d'elles, pour leur donner une explication plus détaillée de ſa reconnoiſſance et des diſpoſitions. Je revins peu de jours avant le départ du roi, qui avoit été fixé au 19 Juin, et M. de Goguelas me joignit à Montmedi.

" J'avois remis à Metz à M. de N—— les ordres du roi, pour les détachemens que je devois placer à Pont-de-Sommevelle et à St. Menehoult, et il s'étoit chargé de diſpoſer le relai à Varennes: il avoit dû en conſéquence, donner les inſtructions à un capitaine de ſon régiment. J'avois donné à M. de Damas ceux pour les deux eſcadrons qui devoient être placés à Clermont. M. de N——— repartit pour Paris, dans l'intention de devancer le roi de quelques heures, de l'attendre à Pont-de-Sommevelle, de prendre le commandement des détachemens juſqu'à Clermont, où M. de Damas devoit ſe réunir à lui, et eſcorter la famille royale juſqu'à Stenay, où je devois être. Je donnai des ordres pour les diſpoſitions des détachemens, et pour le mouvement des troupes qui devoient ſe raſſembler à Mont-

medi au nombre de 9 bataillons et 26 eſcadrons : l'artillerie y étoit déjà placée ainſi que les effets de campement, et les approviſionnemens étoient faits.

" M. de Goguelas me quitta à Stenay le 16 ou le 17, le ſur lendemain du jour où je reçus une lettre du roi qui m'annonçoit qu'au lieu de partir le 19, il avoit remis ſon départ au 20 de Juin, ce qui me contraria et m'obligea de changer les ordres des troupes qui les avoient déjà reçus. J'avois ordonné à M. de Goguelas d'aller à Pont-de-Sommevelle avec un détachement de 40 huſſards qui devoient y attendre le roi et l'eſcorter. Je lui remis les ordres du roi pour les détachemens de Varennes et de Dun : M. de N———, qui devoit l'y joindre avoit ceux pour les autres, qui tous n'avoient pour objet dans le principe que l'eſcorte d'un convoi d'argent ; ceux pour eſcorter le roi, ne devant leur être donnés, que par MM. de N——— et de Goguelas au moment où ils ſeroient inſtruits de ſon arrivée par un de ſes courriers. Ce dernier devoit donc attendre le roi à Pont-

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de-Sommevelle, tenir deux relais entre cet endroit et Stenay, afin de pouvoir inſtruire plus promptement les commandants de détachement de l'arrivée du roi avec M. de N———. Il devoit placer le relai pour le roi qui étoit à Varennes, de manière qu'il pût le trouver en arrivant dans cette ville : et enfin, m'inſtruire de bonne heure, ſoit de ſon arrivée prochaine, afin de tout préparer pour le recevoir, ou de ſon arreſtation : ou m'avertir s'il n'étoit pas parti, devant en être inſtruit par un courrier qui avoit dû être laiſſé à Bondy et en partir à quatre heures du matin ſi le roi n'avoit pas paſſé. Je convins avec lui que je reſterois toute la nuit juſqu'à la pointe du jour, entre Stenay et Dun ; qu'il y auroit un détachement de Royal Allemand qui y ſeroit placé pour eſcorter le roi juſqu'à Montmedi, tandis que le reſte de ce régiment reſteroit à Stenay prêt à monter à cheval. Je lui recommandai d'attendre le roi juſqu'à la nuit et le plus tard qu'il pourroit, et de me faire avertir à tems des évenemens. Il fut en

même tems convenu avec lui, ainſi qu'il l'avoit été avec M. de N———, que ſi le roi ne vouloit pas être reconnû, les détachements le ſuivroient de loin et ſe rendroient à Varennes : que celui de Pont-de-Sommevelle reſteroit à la croiſiere des chemins de Clermont et de Varennes pendant 18 ou 19 heures pour arrêter tous les courriers.—Tels étoient les ordres donnés, les précautions priſes et convenues ; et que perſonne n'ôſera me nier.

" J'arrivai le 20 à Stenay ; et le 21 au matin je confiai aux officiers généraux, M M. d'Offlize, de Klinglin, et Heymann, le départ du roi ; je le confiai également aux chefs de corps. Je fis partir pour Mouza, village ſitué entre Stenay et Dun, le détachement de 50 hommes de Royal Allemand, pour eſcorter le roi ; et j'ordonnai à ce regiment de ſe tenir prêt à monter à cheval, à la petite pointe du jour. J'avois fait tous les préparatifs pour tracer le camp de Montmedi, et les troupes devoient arriver ſucceſſivement le 21, le 22, et

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le 23. J'avois dans le plus grand ſecret fait acheter la viande, et préparer le pain néceſſaire.

" J'eus la précaution, le ſoir du 21, d'envoyer deux officiers à Varennes, dont l'un étoit un de mes fils, pour veiller ſur le relai du roi, et m'avertir: j'ordonnai à M. de Klinglin de retourner à Montmedi, afin de tout préparer pour recevoir le roi, et à M. Heymann d'aller ſur la Sauve pour y réunir deux régiments d'Huſſards et les conduire au camp de Montmédi. Quant à moi, à la nuit je montai à cheval, et je me plaçai auprès de Dun où je reſtai juſqu'à la pointe du jour, ayant eu la précaution de me faire ſuivre d'un attelage de chevaux de voiture pour ſervir à celle du roi. Le jour paroiſſant, et n'ayant pas de nouvelles, je regagnai Stenay, afin d'être à portée de donner des ordres à M. de Klinglin et au régiment de Royal Allemand, s'il étoit arrivé un accident au roi, au quel je puſſe rémédier. J'étois à la porte de Stenay un peu avant quatre heures du matin, quand les deux officiers que j'avois envoyés à Varennes, et

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(ce qui métonna beaucoup) le commandant du détachement d'huſſards qui y étoit placé, vinrent m'avertir que la famille royale étoit arrêtée à Varennes. Je parus également étonné d'avoir été averti auſſi tard : je m'informai de ce qui avoit donné lieu à cet évenement. On me dit ſeulement que les troupes, ſoit à Varennes ou à Clermont, et dans les autres poſtes, n'avoient pas fait leur devoir, et qu'elles étoient gagnées. Je jugeai que je devois m'aſſurer du régiment Royal Allemand qui étoit ma principale force, et me mettre à ſa tête pour délivrer le roi, et que je devois protéger ſa marche à Montmédi, contre la ville de Stenay, qui étoit mauvaiſe, et contre Sédan, qui étoit plus dangereux par les diſpoſitions du peuple très nombreux de cette ville, et celles de la garniſon où il y avoit un très mauvais régiment. En conſéquence, je donnai ordre au régiment Royal Allemand de monter promptement à cheval, à M. de Klinglin de marcher à Stenay, et d'y reſter avec deux eſcadrons des chaſſeurs de Champagne, et d'envoyer un bataillon de

Naſſau

Naſſau à Dun, pour garder le paſſage ſur la Meuſe : en même tems, de faire avancer à tire-d'aile le régiment Suiſſe de Caſtella, ſur Montmédi. J'ordonnai enfin à un détachement d'huſſards qui étoit à Dun, et à celui de Royal Allemand qui étoit à Mouza de ſe porter ſur le champ ſur Varennes. Le premier de ces détachemens n'attendit pas mes ordres, et partit dès qu'il ſût l'arreſtation du roi. Ces ordres donnés, j'attendis le régiment Royal Allemand, qui fut une mortelle heure avant que de ſortir de la ville, quoi que j'euſſe ordonné qu'il fût prêt à monter à cheval à la pointe du jour. Ce fut en vain que j'envoyai mon fils cinq ou ſix fois au commandant pour le preſſer, et encore une fois, je ne pouvois rien entreprendre ſans ce régiment, du quel il falloit m'aſſurer ; et j'avoue que je n'avois confiance qu'en moi pour l'enlever. Dès qu'il fut hors de la ville, j'annonçai aux cavaliers que le roi étoit arrêté ; je leur lûs l'ordre de ſa majeſté qui enjoignoit aux troupes de l'eſcorter et de tout employer pour ſa ſûreté et celle de ſa famille. Je les

trouvai

trouvai dans les meilleures diſpoſitions ; je leur diſtribuai trois ou quatre cent louis, et, je me mis en marche à la tête de ce régiment. Il y a huit très grandes lieues de Stenay à Varennes, et un chemin de montagnes très difficile. Je voyois avec regret qu'on m'eût averti auſſi tard : je pouvois l'être deux heures plutôt ſi on n'eût pas perdu un inſtant à m'envoyer quelqu'un de Varennes dès que le roi y étoit arrivé ; j'étois également fâché de la lenteur, que le régiment Royal Allemand avoit miſe à monter à cheval ; et je regrettois d'avoir perdu deux heures et demie : non que je craigniſſe de ne plus trouver la famille royale à Varennes, ne pouvant imaginer que la municipalité de cette ville ôſat forcer le roi à partir pour Paris, et ſuppoſant qu'au moins, on auroit exécuté l'ordre que j'avois donné de ne laiſſer paſſer aucun courrier ſur la route après le paſſage du roi. Toute mon inquiétude portoit ſur les obſtacles que la lenteur du ſecours que je conduiſois au roi augmenteroit ſoit pour le délivrer, ſoit pour ſa ſûreté dans ſon retour ;

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et chaque quart d'heure de perdu les multiplioit ainſi que les dangers. Je fis donc le plus de diligence poſſible. Je rencontrai à quelque diſtance de Varennes, le détachement de Royal Allemand que j'avois fait partir d'avance, arrêté dans un bois par des gardes nationales qui les fuſilloient. Je les fis diſperſer, et je me mis à la tête de ce détachement, ſuivi à peu de diſtance du reſte du régiment. J'arrivai à neuf heures un quart auprès de Varennes, et je reconnoiſſois l'endroit pour le faire attaquer dès que le régiment ſeroit arrivé, quand je vis un détachement des huſſards de Lauzun qui étoit en dehors de la ville dont le commandant M. Deſlong vint à moi, et m'annonça que le roi étoit parti depuis une heure et demie. Il en étoit alors neuf et demie, je fus rejoindre le régiment Royal Allemand et M. d'Offlize, qui étoit à ſa tête. Je propoſai de paſſer outre. M. Deſlong, qui avoit été dans Varennes, et qui avoit parlé au roi, me dit que le pont étoit embarraſſé, même rompû, qu'il avoit voulû paſſer la rivière, mais, qu'il n'avoit pû trouver

ver de gué. On m'objecta à la tête du régiment que la garniſon de Verdun marchoit ſur nous, que nous pouvions tout au plus, faire 4 lieues encore, ce qui étoit inſuffiſant pour joindre le roi : le régiment en avoit déjà fait près de neuf très vîte, et je ne vis aucune volonté d'aller plus loin, ce qui véritablement devenoit inutile. Je ramenai donc Royal Allemand à Stenay, d'où je partis pour Luxembourg avec les officiers généraux et pluſieurs officiers particuliers au moment où on déliberoit pour nous arrêter : l'ordre en étoit même déjà donné ſur la frontiere où nous paſſâmes de force, en eſſuyant quelques coups de fuſil.

" Je demande ſi on peut m'imputer d'aucune manière, d'avoir été cauſe de ce malheureux évenement ; s'il a dépendu de moi, de remédier à tous les torts qu'ont eu les perſonnes employées à l'exécution de ce projet ; dont aucune, on peut le dire, excepté M. de Damas, qui eſt venû de ſa perſonne à Varennes, ſa troupe ayant réfuſé de le ſuivre, n'a fait ſon devoir et n'a exécuté mes ordres. J'ignore pourquoi M. de

Goguelas et M. de N——— porteurs des ordres du roi, chargés de l'exécution des miens, et de toutes les diſpoſitions; n'ont pas attendu le roi à Pont-de-Sommevelle : pourquoi ayant quitté ce poſte d'où dépendoit le ſuccès, ils n'ont pas ſuivi, ou l'un d'eux au moins, la grande route que devoit prendre le roi : pourquoi arrivés à Varennes peu de tems après le roi, au lieu de perorer la municipalité et la garde nationale, et de demander aux huſſards s'ils étoient pour le roi ou pour la nation, ils ne ſont pas tombés ſur la populace qui étoit alors en petit nombre et ne l'ont pas diſſipée : pourquoi ils ne m'ont pas fait avertir ſur le champ, devant calculer qu'il falloit au moins trois heures à un courrier pour faire les huit grandes lieues de Varennes à Stenay, une demie heure pour préparer le régiment Royal Allemand et ſortir de Stenay; et quatres heures et demie ou cinq heures pour le conduire à Varennes, ce qui employoit huit heures et demie. Si on eut fait partir quelqu'un pour m'avertir dès onze heures et demie : j'arrivois à ſept heures

heures et demie ou huit heures, et je pouvois ſauver le roi. Pourquoi encore, ne pas prendre les meſures qui avoient été ordonnées pour arrêter à St. Menehoult les courriers de Paris, et l'aide de camp de M. de la Fayette qui ont décidé le départ du roi de Varennes. Pourquoi, s'ils n'ont pû le délivrer, n'ont ils pas pris tous les moyens pour l'empêcher de partir, et il y en avoit mille. Je dis toutes ces choſes à regret, et uniquement parcequ'on m'a aſſuré qu'ils avoient réjetté ſur moi les évenemens de cette journée, et que pour s'excuſer ils avoient dit au roi, que je devois arriver et que j'arriverois pour le ſauver. Mais, il falloit que je fuſſe averti à tems, il falloit que j'euſſe avec moi des forces ſuffiſantes pour forcer tous les obſtacles. Pouvois-je laiſſer le régiment Royal Allemand dans Stenay où il pouvoit être enfermé par les gardes nationales et le peuple comme les dragons l'ont été à St. Menehoult et à Clermont? Ne devois-je pas m'aſſurer de ce régiment ſans le quel je ne pouvois eſpérer de délivrer le roi, étant informé qu'il y avoit un

peuple immenſe déjà raſſemblé à Varennes, que les dragons de Clermont avoient refuſé de marcher, que les huſſards de Varennes étoient mal diſpoſés? Ne devois-je pas prendre des précautions pour aſſurer la marche du roi de Varennes à Montmédi contre la ville de Stenay et celle de Sedan? Et ſi on m'eût fait dire qu'il falloit arriver ſur le champ ſans perdre un moment, avec ce que j'avois dans la main: moi ſeul, je ſerois parti à l'inſtant, et j'aurois négligé toutes les précautions que j'ai crû indiſpenſable de prendre. Mais, je demandai des nouvelles de M. de Goguelas de M. de N———. A peine pût on m'en donner, et je n'en entendis pas parler.

" Je crois que ſi on veut examiner avec impartialité ma conduite, que je rougis d'être obligé de juſtifier, on verra que mes diſpoſitions ont été exactement ordonnées et que j'ai été le ſeul à ma place. Le rétard qu'on m'accuſe d'avoir mis à conduire le ſecours au roi ne peut être imputé qu'à ceux qui m'ont fait avertir de ſa ſituation. Décidé à tout tenter pour le ſauver, il m'é-

toit trop important d'arriver avec des forces ſuffiſantes pour le delivrer le plutôt poſſible, chaque inſtant de perdû, multipliant les difficultés et les dangers.

" On a éte juſqu'à me reprocher la lettre que j'ai écrite à l'aſſemblée, dictée, à-t-on dit, par un eſprit de fanfaronnade. Dans un moment de fureur et de vengeance, je n'ai eu d'autre objet que de détourner celle du peuple qui étoit dérigée contre le roi et la reine. A-t-on pû s'y méprendre ? Euſſé-je été, ſans cela, aſſez in conſéquent pour me mettre dans le cas de faire confiſquer mes biens, de me faire proſcrire, moi et les miens ; de faire mettre ma tête à prix ; de me faire pourſuivre par les poignards ; ſi je n'avois eu le deſſein de ſauver le roi?"

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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